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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE WESLEY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME 7

GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY
OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

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William Lloyd



John Wesley
1741 - c. 38.

After the painting by William Verelsteden from the original in Dulwich College.

THE WILLIAMS PORTRAIT OF JOHN WESLEY.

A photogravure portrait of Wesley from the Williams picture at Didsbury College is given as the frontispiece to the new volume of our *Proceedings*. An illustration of this portrait has already appeared in vol. iv, p. 120. But it has been thought desirable to give to our members a better representation. The late Rev. Richard Green had this photogravure prefixed to his *John Wesley Evangelist*. I cannot do better than quote Mr. Green's description of Williams' portrait, given in an earlier volume: "It is the portrait of a man who made Methodism. The face is of the Miltonic type. The nose is prominent and well defined. The eyes are large and reflective. There is no appearance of hurry or flutter in them; but a hidden power of activity and sustained labour. They are fixed on the beholder with that calm, steady, penetrating gaze with which he arrested the leaders of riotous mobs, and put to silence disturbers and rude assailants in his meetings. The well-modelled mouth is firm without sternness it shows no line of flippancy or anger, but an habitual seriousness that could evidently brighten into sweetness and joy, or melt into tenderness. Power of thought is shown in the widely-spread eye-brows, and the ample and slightly tapering forehead, partly hidden by the dark auburn hair, which, parted in the middle, falls in wavy ringlets upon the narrow sloping shoulders. The entire aspect is grave without sadness calm and even majestic in its consciousness of strength. It shows great reserve of power and capability withal of quivering emotion. It is the face of one having large sympathies, busied with great thoughts, and moved by great purposes."

J.W.C.

TRAVELLING IN WESLEY'S TIME.

SOME ROADS, ROUTES AND DISTANCES.

Mr. Duignan, F.S.A., of Walsall, is a veteran antiquarian of more than Midlands repute. Direct research, joined to a wealth of information gathered through a long life from ancient charters and other legal instruments that have passed under his hands professionally, give him authority on the matters he has touched, and his *Staffordshire Place Names* and *Worcestershire Place Names* are accepted as standard works. Many years ago he published in a local newspaper a series of articles suggested by Wesley's *Journal*; of this a prolonged search has lately yielded me the loan of a copy. They deal with roads, routes, distances, modes of travel and changes in those methods, and other similar topics. This paper and another to follow are, with the ready consent of the author, based on these articles.

At the outset it is interesting to learn that previous to 1675, when the great roads were measured by Ogilby, the distances were computed, *i.e.*, guessed, and the computation was always less than the measured distance. *E.g.*, from London to Holyhead, via Chester, was 208 computed and $269\frac{1}{4}$ measured miles; London to Berwick 260—339 $\frac{1}{4}$; [Worcester to Brecon, 23 April, 1781 (*q.v.*), 50—59 $\frac{3}{4}$]; and so on throughout the kingdom. The oddest part of the thing was that, for more than a hundred years after 1675, the post-masters were paid by computation, and received a less mileage by about 30 per cent. than they were fairly entitled to. "I do not know (observes Mr. D.) a more striking instance of self-sacrificing conservatism."

14 MARCH, 1738.—The road from Birmingham to Manchester and the north lay through Perry Barr, over Barr Beacon, through Aldridge, across Druid Heath [Aldridge Heath in the *Journal*, 20 Feb., 1746, "the entrance to the moors"—*i.e.*, to Cannock Chase, on its S.E. border] crossing the Old Chester Road a mile or so before it joins the Watling Street at Brownhills,

through the midst of what is now Norton Pool, . . . through Hednesford [Hedgeford in the *Journal*] and so on to Stafford.¹

That Aldridge was at this time a great thoroughfare is evident from its parish registers, which contain numerous entries of "a stranger," "a trader," "a soldier on the march," "a strange child," &c. Travellers from London direct to the north and north west would follow the Old Chester Road, leaving Birmingham five miles to the west and skirting Sutton Park and Aldridge, joining the Watling Street three or four miles further on at Brownhills. One of the great carriers between London and Chester lived at Aldridge, and brought his wagons, which carried passengers right into the village, a mile distant, three up and three down weekly. When an up and a down coach happened to meet in Aldridge for the night, the village was quite full of travellers. Fresh horses went out when they were due from the south, to assist in pulling them over the north-east shoulder of Barr Beacon. The Chester and Shrewsbury coaches however did not enter the village, but kept the old way. The last coach on this road ran about 1809. After 1764, traffic from Birmingham began to be attracted by the new turnpike road through Walsall and Cannock, and soon afterwards by that through West Bromwich, Wednesbury and Wolverhampton. There had been short lengths of road through this district from ancient times. Turnpiking was done in sections; the first, Birmingham to Wednesbury, was begun in 1727. The Act authorising this work recited that the roads proposed to be turnpiked, "by reason of the many and heavy carriages frequently "passing through the same are becoming so ruinous and bad that

1. The route thus indicated is of deep interest. Much of the road is now derelict, and nobody would guess even the parts still in use to be a road—still less *the* road—to the north; but it was then the *only* road. It is part of an ancient saltway, and may even be of British origin. A mark of its extreme antiquity is the fact that it formed and still forms manorial and parochial boundaries, for several miles from Brownhills northwards. The several references to Aldridge in Wesley's early *Journal* have been a puzzle to local readers;—but the road explains the difficulty. Barr Beacon is an eminence of no great height (700 feet) but conspicuous by its solitariness. A clump of trees at its summit has for centuries been a characteristic feature. From its summit ordnance surveyors have identified points in ten counties. It has strong advocates as the seat of the Arch Druid, some of whom point to the name Druid Heath in support, but Mr. Duignan disposes of this suggestion by shewing that a Norman family of Dru were mediæval lords of Aldridge. The heath, being waste, belonged to the lords, and so acquired the name of Dru or Drew-wood (*Staffordshire Place Names*). Norton Pool, a canal reservoir of 230 acres, was formed in 1819 by damming the stream and valley. The line of the road is here and there traceable when the water is low.

"in the winter season many parts thereof are impassable for wagons and carriages, and very dangerous for travellers." [cf., *Journal*, Nov. 9, 1745.] The section from Wednesbury to Bilston and Wolverhampton was not turnpiked till 1766. The Act says the road was "in a ruinous condition, and in some places very narrow and inconvenient." Other Acts authorised other lengths.² [In 1816-7, road making was done by the unemployed, local authorities adopting this form of relief during the stagnation which succeeded Waterloo. At Wednesbury men without boots to wear were denied relief because they could not do navy work in their bare feet. But it was not until 1823 that Telford, authorised by the Act of that year, commenced the task of re-constructing the entire length of road from London to Holyhead. These various Black Country Sections were incorporated in this great scheme.³]

At Hednesford the "Cross Keys" was at that time the posting house. Many years ago I knew an ancient lady who once lived at the Cross Keys, and could remember road wagons, and the pack horses, and the gentlemen riding past. She told me she had sometimes known riders who had left London that morning call at the Cross Keys in the evening (124 miles) and take fresh horses to Stone (16 miles further). The Hednesford horses going north were left at Stone; those going south at Castle Bromwich or Birmingham, according to the route the riders took. This old way is still very plain over Cannock Chase; but it does not appear ever to have been repaired, and in places is worn and deep, affording shelter to the few deer still surviving.⁴ On the return journey Manchester to Stone is 46 miles; thence to Henley [in Arden] 48 miles; thence to Oxford 47½ miles.

22 JUNE, 1743.—[To Tamworth the road would be through Walsall and Aldridge, and skirted the northern boundary of Sutton Coldfield.] "Counsellor Littleton" was Edward Littleton of Moat House, Tamworth, son of Sir Edward Littleton. The Littletons lived at the Moat House from 1671 to 1751. Lord Hatherton is their descendant. [The famous jurist, and many other lawyers are of this family, and the Lytteltons of Hagley (Viscount Cobham)

2. The late Rev. Samuel Lees refers to the roads and routes in and about Wednesbury in *Proceedings*, iv, 153.

3. For this interpolation I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Hackwood, F.R. Hist. Soc., the Historian of Wednesbury, West Bromwich, and other South Staffordshire towns.

4. Mr. Duignan's papers were written 25 or 30 years ago.

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come from the same stock.]

20 OCTOBER, 1743.—[For topographical notes of Walsall, with plan of streets traversed on this eventful day, their gradients, &c., see my illustrated paper in *Meth. Rec.*, 29 Sept., 1904.]

6 AUGUST, 1747; 23 FEBRUARY, 1748; 11 APRIL, 1749; 24 MARCH, 1750; 23 MARCH, 1756.—[Tannabull and Danna-bull=Tan-y-bwlch. Dall-y-gelle=Dolgelly. "The sands" which he speaks of "passing," is the estuary Traeth Mawr, separating the Merioneth and Carnarvonshire coasts, with the modern town of Port-Madoc on the western side. In Wesley's time these sands stretched some miles further inland. The work of reclamation was proposed to Sir Hugh Myddelton as far back as 1625, but was not accomplished until Mr. Madocks, who purchased the estate in 1791, took it in hand. By the construction of an embankment nearly a mile long, at a cost of nearly £100,000, he reclaimed several thousand acres. For Baldon Ferry, "4 miles beyond Carnarvon," see *Proceedings*, vi, 53.]

Turning to Charles Wesley's *Journal*, 10 Aug., 1748, we touch another ancient route to Holyhead, crossing the [southern mouth of] the Menai Straits [3 miles below Carnarvon] by Aber-Menai Ferry. At this time the bridges at Conway and Bangor were not built, and travellers by that route had to ferry twice. When the tide was out they usually crossed the sands and sea at Beaumaris; when it was in, they rode round by Bangor and ferried there. Passengers for Ireland were often detained at Holyhead for several days by weather or lack of vessels. There was no regular service. On this occasion C. Wesley got away on the third day. In the spring of 1748, and again in that of 1750, John Wesley was delayed twelve days.

23 OCTOBER 1749.—The route at this time from Woore (in Cheshire) would be by Ternhill, Newport, Albrighton and Wolverhampton, 48 miles. Bilbrook is a hamlet between the two places last named, and is eleven miles, instead of seven or eight, from Wednesbury. Wesley appears to have had friends at Bilbrook, judging from numerous references to the place.⁵

5. Enquiries have failed to discover who were his friends at Bilbrook, and Mr. J. G. Wright, who enquired many years ago, confirms me in this. No Methodist cause is known to have existed there, but at the neighbouring village of Codsall there was a very old society, which may have sprung from it. It maintained a struggling existence down to about 25 years ago, when its Methodist identity was lost in a union with other Free Churches in the village. See W.H.S., vi, 35. [Wesley's last visit to Bilbrook, 17. 3. 72, was to meet Fletcher there: see Wesley's letter of same date to C. Wesley.—N.]

21 AUGUST, 1756.—[“The waters being out.” This doubtless refers to the Trent at Burton, where the river runs in two channels. A 12th century bridge of 34 arches, embattled and fortified, but narrow, gave place in 1863-4 to a new structure 496 yards in length, resting on 29 arches. In 1888-9 another bridge 240 feet in length was erected a mile higher up, to replace an ancient ferry maintained in early times by the Abbots of Burton. The town has often suffered from inundation. See also *Proceedings*, vi, 51.]

24 AUGUST, 1760.—At this time Parkgate, sixteen miles below Chester, was a great port for Irish traffic, and probably more frequented than Holyhead. Centuries ago Chester was a great port, but the Dee has been silting up for ages. [See Mr. Bretherton's article on “John Wesley's voyages to and from Parkgate,” *Meth. Rec.*, Winter Number, 1903.]

27-28 August, 1760.—From Newport (Salop) Wesley might have taken a country road and kept clear even of Wolverhampton, but the horses beginning to fail, he took that route for prudential reasons, and hiring fresh horses at that town it would be unnecessary to continue further on the “Birmingham Road.” He then proceeded south-west, through Kidderminster to Worcester. Broadwater is a mile short of Kidderminster [see *Proceedings*, vi, 60] $53\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Whitchurch. To Bristol is a further $75\frac{1}{4}$ miles, the Newport at the close of the paragraph being $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Bristol.

17 MARCH, 1761.—Mr. Wesley's difficulty in getting back from Shrewsbury to Wednesbury shews the scarcity of public conveyances. At this time there was a coach “once a week with six able horses” from Shrewsbury to London, via Wolverhampton and Birmingham. The journey occupied four days. General traffic was carried mainly on pack horses and road wagons. In 1730 the wagons took ten days from Shrewsbury to London; but on 22 Oct., 1750, it was solemnly announced that “The Shrewsbury Flying Stage Wagon will begin to ply on Tuesday “next in five days, winter and summer, God permitting.” Times were then rapidly changing, and in 1772 the Salopians were startled by the announcement of a “new flying machine on “steel springs from Shrewsbury to London, via Birmingham and “Oxford, in two days.” It was about this time that Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Walsall began to attract the north-west traffic, and the glories of the Watling Street and the Old Chester Road commenced to wane.

15 AUGUST, 1763.—From London to Bath, 106 miles, in one

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day was a great innovation. Bristol is $12\frac{3}{4}$ miles further. This is probably the longest day's travelling Wesley had yet performed.

25 JULY, 1764.—The distance from Shrewsbury to Llanidloes is 43 miles, and as the travellers left Llanidloes at three and continued riding till between eleven and twelve at night they must have covered 80 miles or more in the day; but I do not know "Fountain Head" or "Roes Fair," and cannot therefore be accurate. Mr. Wesley has a very summary way of spelling Welsh names, and probably "Roes Fair" is only a faint reflection of Welsh sounds. [A paper on this terrible ride is in preparation.—F.]

24 JUNE, 1766.—In addition to the bad state of the roads, travellers of the eighteenth century were frequently exposed to discomforts and perils from lack of bridges and the lack or scarcity of ferry boats. Steam was unknown, and in crossing rivers and estuaries ferrymen were dependent on wind and tide; travellers often had to wait several hours, and in times of flood even days before they could cross rivers which we now cross in a minute. Mr. Wesley was sometimes detained five or six hours at Aust Ferry, over the Severn, the usual entrance from Bristol and the south-east into South Wales. He also frequently crossed the Solway Firth into Dumfries-shire at a point where the sea at high tide would be $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles across. Sir Walter Scott knew the difficulties of the passage, and, speaking of William of Deloraine says :—

O'er Solway Sands, through Tarras Moss,
Blindfold he knew the paths across.

[See also 14-16 Oct., 1777.]

29 MARCH, 1774.—The improvements in travelling are evidenced by [this journey] which few men of 71 would care to perform. . . . Assuming that Mr. Wesley travelled by the nearest way, via Wolverhampton, Kidderminster, Worcester and Gloucester, the exact distance from Congleton to Bristol is $135\frac{1}{2}$ miles; 271 miles in (say) 50 hours was fast travelling for 1774.

4 APRIL, 1787.—The mail here referred to was the London and Holyhead, which had commenced to run about two years previously. It left London about 8 p.m. and appears to have occupied thirty hours in the journey to Chester, a clear six miles an hour.

6 AUGUST, 1787.—The distance from Manchester to Birmingham is 89 miles, and it would seem the coach usually occupied seventeen hours on the journey; on this occasion nineteen. Notwithstanding the fatigue he must have undergone, Mr. Wesley,

who was now 84, continued his journey (to Southampton and Jersey) on the following morning, "a little before five."

21-23 APRIL, 1788.—Wesley never complains of personal discomforts; he could say with St. Paul "I have learned in whatever state I am therewith to be content"; but Lancashire roads sorely tried him. [See *Proc.*, III., 199 sqq.]

26 MARCH, 1789.—[Clowrust=Llanrwst.] At this time the inn-keepers at Shrewsbury were making great efforts to attract the Holyhead traffic, which hitherto had almost exclusively passed through Chester. The great Holyhead road, as we now know it, then existed only in fragments. In 1780 a coach and post road was established between Shrewsbury and Holyhead *via* Oswestry, Corwen, Cerrig-y-Druidion, Llanrwst and Conway. This was a nearer way from London than the Chester route, and had the advantage of avoiding the Conway ferry, the road crossing the river at Llanrwst, over Inigo Jones's bridge. The fine road now running through Bettws-y-coed, Capel Curig and Nant-Francon to Bangor was so bad and dangerous in 1810 that the mail which then travelled that route broke the legs of three horses in one week, and was more frequently too late than in time for the packet at Holyhead.

W. C. SHELDON.

NOTE.—I have closely adhered to Mr. Duignan's text except in one or two places early in the paper, where I have brought together into one passage notes on the same topic found in different parts of his valuable articles. My own insertions are enclosed in square brackets.

WESLEY'S ORDINATIONS AT BRISTOL.

SEPTEMBER 1ST AND 2ND, 1784.

In the first printed edition of Wesley's *Journal*, Part xx. 1789. the entries for these dates stand as they appear in modern editions: "Wed., Sep 1. Being now clear in my own mind, I took a step which I had long weighed in my mind, and appointed

Mr. Whatcoat and Mr. Vasey, to go and serve the desolate sheep in America. Thursday 2. I added to them three more, which I verily believe will be much to the glory of God."

But in another edition published the same year, which, as the three errata at the end of the first edition are corrected, Wesley had evidently revised, the entry for September 2nd is omitted.

Mr. Green does not note this in his *Bibliography* under 401, though he observes the error in the paging of 115 as 215, and the corrections of *errata*. Neither does he note a slight but significant addition to the title page: "*Printed for the Author.*" The other has "Printed and sold at the New-Chapel City-Road; and at Rev. Mr. Wesley's Preaching Houses."

I have copies of both these editions. Why Wesley omitted the entry of Sep. 2nd in the later edition we can only surmise.¹

But as I have shown in my *British Methodism* (edited by Dr. Hurst) Vol. II, 964, the matter is made clearer by an entry from Whatcoat's *Journal* given in Dr. Wm. Phœbus's *Life of Whatcoat* (1828), p. 17:

"Sep. 1st 1784. Rev. John Wesley, Thomas Coke, and James Creighton, presbyters of the Church of England formed a presbytery, and ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey deacons; and on Sep. 2nd, by the same hands, Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey were ordained elders, and Thomas Coke, LL.D., was ordained 'superintendent for the Church of God under our care in North America.'"

From this it appears that there were *two* ordinations on Sep. 1st: Whatcoat and Vasey were ordained deacons; and on Sep. 2nd, "*three more*" ordinations took place, Whatcoat and Vasey being ordained "elders," and Dr. Coke "superintendent."

The American *Minutes*, 1783, show that Wm. Phœbus, the author of the *Life of Whatcoat*, was received as a preacher on trial that year. He was, therefore, a contemporary of Whatcoat's.

1. In a letter accompanying this communication, Mr. Brigden writes: "Did Wesley, when revising the first edition of *Part XX*, thus omit 2 Sep. altogether, because he found it was raising such a storm? Certainly when printing it he avoids using the term "ordination" [or anything equivalent] and in doing so makes the whole entry obscure. This part of the *Journal* does not come into his *Works* published in his lifetime. But I have a set of the Works said to have been given by him to a Mrs. Morgan, to which a 33rd volume is added, including the later parts of *Journal* (which of course he could not have given). And it is in this vol. I find a copy of the edn. without 2 Sept. I have lately bought another copy."

As bearing on the whole question of the terms used, the following notes from the American *Minutes*, 1785, may be of interest. To Wesley's well known letter, inserted in these *Minutes*, is appended the note :

"As the translators of our version of the Bible have used the word Bishop instead of superintendent, it has been thought by us that it would appear more scriptural to adopt the term Bishop."

But the change was not made this year. The question stands thus in the next following years :

"1786. Who are the superintendents of our Church ?

1787. Who are the superintendents of our Church for *The United States* ?

1788. Who are the *Bishops* of our Church for the U. States?

1789. Who are the persons who exercise the episcopal office in the Methodist Church in Europe and America ? Ans. : John Wesley, Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury."

From 1773—1783 the terms "preachers" and "assistants" are used.

From 1784, the questions become, "Who are the elders?" "Who are the deacons?" A whole volume might be written on these suggestive changes. [Cf. N. & Q. 212, *Proc. IV.*, 22.]

Without entering upon the many questions arising out of the use of the terms "bishop" and "superintendent," regarded by the American Conference as synonymous, it is curious to find a passage on the subject in the *Treatise on the Christian Priesthood and the dignity of the Episcopal office* ² by Dr. George Hickes, the Non-juror, whose *Devotions* Wesley purchased in 1735. While Dr. Hickes himself regards bishops as "princes" and their territories as "principalities," and even "empires," and supports the claim with great gravity and erudition, he inserts a fine sermon in his *Appendix*, preached by Dr. George Downname in 1608, in which we read : "The work of a Bishop is, as may be gathered out of the words *Καλῶς ἐπισκοπεῖν*, to be a good Superintendent, whereunto also Peter exhorts. Now what that is, the apostle shows, Acts 20, where he exhorts the ministers of Ephesus, that they would attend unto themselves, and to the whole flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them Superintendents, to feed the church of God. So also 1 Tim., 5. And "Feed the flock," says Peter to the ministers performing the office of Bishops or

2. London. Printed by W.B. for Richard Sare at Gray's-Inn Gate in Holborn, 1.171

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Superintendents. But to speak more distinctly, the work of a Bishop or Pastor to be good Presidents or Superintendents contains these branches. For whom in the New Testament the Holy Ghost calleth Superintendents, in the Old He calleth *Speculatores, Watchmen.*"

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

As matter of history, John Knox, in the *First Book of Discipline*, (1560) set out his scheme for the Government of the Church, which was entrusted to superintendents, ministers or pastors, doctors or teachers, elders, and deacons. The country was divided into ten districts or dioceses, over each of which a superintendent presided. With one exception (Erskine of Dun) all the superintendents were ministers who spent part of their time in their own parishes and the rest in travelling from parish to parish on tours of inspection. The office of superintendent, however, soon fell into abeyance.—J.C.N.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE TEXT OF WESLEY'S JOURNAL, AUGUST 27TH TO 31ST, 1787.

In the autumn of 1906 the Rev. R. Green called my attention to the appearance of difficulty in apportioning the facts to the days at the above dates. Indeed, as the text stands, there seemed to him to be more days' work than the dates show. "I am puzzled with the arrangement of the days," he wrote. Examination soon made it clear that we have before us a narrative strangely conflated of two others, which are in a general way parallel, but which are combined in a fashion that is curious, not to say clumsy and confused. An analysis is attempted below. It is difficult to conceive how such a confused narrative came to be written, or was passed for the press. It is one of a few facts in the text of the *Journals* which throw light upon the process of their composition. Let the printed text be compared with its dissection as here set forth.

MONDAY [AUG.] 27th.

Here we are, shut up in Jersey ; for how long we cannot tell. But it is all well ; for thou, Lord, hast done it. It is my part to improve the time, as it is not likely I shall ever have another opportunity of visiting these islands.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

TUESDAY——28th.

Being still detained by contrary winds, I preached at six in the evening to a larger congregation than ever, in the assembly room. It conveniently contains five or six hundred people. Most of the gentry were present ; and I believe felt that God was there in an uncommon degree.

I designed to have followed up the blow in the morning, but

WEDNESDAY——29th.

I had quite lost my voice. However it was restored in the evening ; and I believe all in the assembly room (more than the last meeting) heard distinctly, while I explained and applied, 'I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God.'

Being still detained, I preached there again the next evening

to a larger congregation than ever.

I now judged I had fully delivered my own soul, and

THURSDAY——30th.

In the morning, Thursday, 30, I took solemn leave of the Society.

We set out about nine,

Good is the will of the Lord. I trust he has something more for us to do here also.

and reached St. Peter's in the afternoon

in the morning the wind serving for Guernsey and not for Southampton, I returned thither, not unwillingly, since it was not by my choice, but by the clear providence of God,

for in the afternoon

I was offered the use of the assembly-room ; a spacious chamber in the market place, which would contain at least thrice as many as our former Room. I willingly accepted the offer, and preached at six to such a congregation as I had not seen here before ; and the word seemed to sink deep into their hearts,

I trust it will not return empty.

After preaching to a larger congregation than was expected on so short a notice, on ' God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself,'

I returned to Mont-Plaisir, to stay just as long as it should please God.

FRIDAY——31

I preached there in the morning, to a congregation as serious as death.

H. J. FOSTER.

EARLY METHODISM IN SUNDERLAND.

(I) MONKWEARMOUTH.—From 1743 to 1790 Wesley frequently visited the town of Sunderland, and, after his first visit,—in connection with which is claimed by healthy local tradition the famous fishwife incident which Tyerman associates with Newcastle,—always enjoyed the happiest relations with the natives of the Wéarside borough.

In the old Parish Church of Monkwearmouth, redolent with the memory of the Venerable Bede, Wesley frequently preached whilst Mr. Gooday was Vicar.

Mr. Gooday lived in the old dower house of the Williamson family in Hallgarth Square, and it was in a room of the adjoining house that the Methodist Society first met in Monkwearmouth. The good Vicar had a doorway made into this room from his own house, and was frequently wont to join the Methodists at their own meetings. When Whitburn Street Chapel was built in 1766-7, the room adjoining the Vicarage was given up. Whitburn Street is the oldest existing Methodist Chapel in Sunderland.

(II) SANS STREET.—All the stages of the development of the Methodist Society in Sunderland prior to Sans Street, 1793, with the exception of the locality of Swine Alley, where the first "Room" was opened in 1746, can be clearly traced; but it has not, I think, been suggested that the very site of Sans Street Chapel is itself closely linked with Wesley. On his last visit to Sunderland in 1790, he preached in the open-air in the Pann Fields. Numbers Garth Chapel, just across the High Street, and the second oldest Methodist Chapel in the county of Durham, was already utterly inadequate for the needs of the Society. It is more than probable that Wesley would be keenly interested in the new chapel which must soon be built in its stead. "The Pann Fields," or as Wesley calls it "The Penn," was at a later period a term descriptive only of the land to the north of High Street, but at that time it covered the land on the south side also, where Sans Street Chapel now stands. It is not unlikely that the site so soon afterwards bought for the new "House," was suggested by Wesley himself, after that last open-air service.

B. A. HURD BARLEY.

NOTE.—I have been collecting materials for a history of Methodism in Sunderland, and should be grateful for any information that the members of the W.H.S. may be able to afford me. [Tyerman spells "Goodday"—F.]

A LETTER FROM WILLIAM SHENT.

Knasbower July 27 1786

Dear Son in y^e Gospel I thank the Lord for What you Sent mee by Mr. Wilkinson for it Just Came to me in time of need, What you wrote to me consarning your state of soul, all ways fear your selfe But never Distrust God now you are a Son of God thear is laid up for you a crown of Glory God is your father Christ is your Brother Friend and the Holy Ghost is your Teacher your friend and the Angels your atendens to your fathers Kingdom Now set your Hart at home and trie How Maney you can bring along with you Fathers house in oder you may get Safe landed ad to your Faith Curredg—knowledge temperence—patence—godlinefs—brotherly-kindnefs—love and Peter declars then you shall never Fall 2 of Peter y^e firs chapter reed it over folow that rule and all will be well with you hear and to all Eternety—I am for a few weeks in Thurst round then I hope to return Leeds I have the Lord with me and I trust he ever will stand by me that I may winn moor souls pray for me and I trust I shall not forget you till we meet to part no more for ever and ever Amen all from your poor Father in y^e gospel

Till death Wm Shent

For
John Lupton
At Mr John Woodcok
at Storton
near
York

KNARES
BOROUGH.

[Shent had been for some time under a cloud, and “in not undeserved embarrassment ; his friends forsook him ; but not so Wesley.” See letters of John Wesley and Charles Wesley, full of sympathetic consideration for the old pioneer Methodist preacher, in Tyerman, *Wesley*, III, 289, 296. One cannot but hope that John Pawson’s verdict may be a little revised : “ Poor William Shent died this year [*i.e.* 1787], a melancholy instance of human instability. After preaching the Gospel to others for forty years, there is too much ground for fear that he died in sin at last. O for grace to endure unto the end.” (*E.M.P.*, iv, 57). Letter in possession of Mr. William Lupton, New Park, Harrogate.—*H.J.F.*]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

390. SAMUEL SAVAGE (*Desid. et Quær.*, No. 26; *Journal*, 17 Nov., 1772). Mr. Walter C. Brown, of Dulwich, sends the following acceptable note upon this name. Wesley says "a gentleman of Kent," but his informant may not have told the story, or Wesley may not have remembered it, with any close exactness. There can hardly be any doubt that Samuel Savage of Limpsfield is the person with whom the story is concerned.

"In the *Town and Country Magazine* for Sept., 1772, his death is thus announced, 'Samuel Savage, Esq., of Lower Brook St., Sep. 2., 1772.'

"From another source it appears that he died at his seat at Limpsfield, in Surrey.

"In an article on The Church Plate of Surrey, in Vol. 12, p. 75, of the *Surrey Archæological Society's Collections*, dealing with St. Peter's, Limpsfield, is the following: 'The sacred monogram is engraved on all the plate of this date (1764), which is very massive. Each piece (there are 4 pieces) also bears this inscription: The gift of Samuel Savage, Esq., to the Parish of Limpsfield, 1765.'

"The donor owned and occupied a house in the centre of the village, which had formerly belonged to Mrs. Eugenie Stanhope, widow of Philip Stanhope, Esq., natural son of the Earl of Chesterfield, whose letters were published by her."

391. WESLEY RELICS.—Mr. Alfred Bate, of Shepherd's Well, Dover, brother of the late Rev. George Osborn Bate, and a nephew of Rev. Dr. George Osborn, writes thus in reference to the following articles in his possession: "Some time before his death, my father, Mr. John Bate, of Faversham and Sittingbourne, gave [me] a walking-stick and a silver tea-spoon, which were given to him by the Rev. James Mole [ent. m. 1806; ob 1849], for whom he acted as executor. Mr. Mole died at Sittingbourne; he had been the executor of Henry Moore,

John Wesley's Executor. He told my father the articles were in John Wesley's possession at the time of his death. The stick is a straight stick, with a tassel, part of which still remains. The spoon is engraved with the letters ^W_{LA}. I have treasured these as relics all these years, and should be glad if [any member of the W.H.S.] can assist me in establishing their genuineness, of which I have no documentary proof. Rev. Nehemiah Curnock says he distinctly remembers Dr. Osborn telling him about the walking stick."

392. HENRY DURBIN, THE OLD PLANNER, OF BRISTOL. [*Proc.*, II, 40-43, 110, note; VI, 101; also III, 24].—

I found his mural tablet in St. Thomas' Church, Bristol:

Sacred to the Memory of
HENRY DURBIN, ESQ.,
More than 60 years a most respected inhabitant
of this Parish. He was born
Sep. 11th, 1718.

Piety to God and Charity to the Poor
Were conspicuous traits in his Character.
From the age of 16 to the end of his Life
He devoted a tenth of his income
to charitable use, and by his Will
he left 50^l the interest to be applied
to the relief of the Poor belonging to the
Alms House in this Parish.

He descended to the grave as a ripe
Shock of Corn expiring without Pain
Or Sorrow.

Dec. 24th, 1798, Aged 80.

(The characterization of Henry Durbin may be compared with that quoted, from an anonymous Bristol writer, *Proc.*, II, 42). Upon the same mural tablet is also given:

Also in Memory of Alice Durbin,
youngest daughter of the above Henry Durbin, Esq.,
who departed this life, Dec. 20th, 1834, aged 77 years.
The shock of corn (Job V, 26), is carved upon the mural
tablet of Captain Webb, in Portland Chapel, Bristol. Henry
Durbin's death is noticed in *Meth. Mag.*, 1799, p. 487,
although he had ceased to be connected with the Society.

I can now complete Mr. Brigden's reply, *N. & Q.*, 146
[*Proc.*, III, 24] to *N. & Q.*, 121, with the following extract
from Bonner and Middleton's *Bristol Journal*, Sep. 23, 1780:

"Thursday [21st] was married at Bedminster Church, Mr. John Horton, drysalter, of London, to Miss Mary Durbin, eldest daughter of Mr. Henry Durbin, chemist of this city." (See Wesley, *Journal*, 21 Sep.) The Directories of 1783 and 1787 say: "Henry Durbin, Chymist, Redcliffe Street." St. Thomas' and St. Mary Redcliffe were "chapels" to Bedminster Church.—*H. J. Foster*.

393. HERBERT SPENCER'S METHODIST PARENTAGE. — *Herbert Spencer* (1820—1903) was of Methodist parentage. I give a few extracts from his autobiography.¹

"Out of a family of seven, five were among the earliest Wesleyans (of whom my maternal grandfather was one), and two of these were among the earliest Wesleyan preachers—John Brettell and Jeremiah Brettell, born respectively in 1742 and 1753. Of these, the younger, Jeremiah, seems to have been somewhat intimately associated with John Wesley, who spoke approvingly of his work; and at one time he was appointed to the Epworth² circuit, Epworth² being Wesley's native place. Of John Brettell there exists, in the *Arm. Mag.* for 1796, a brief biography written by his brother,³ and there is a portrait of him in the same periodical for March, 1784. Jeremiah, of whom there is a portrait in the *Arm. Mag.* for Feb., 1784, and another in the *Wes. Meth. Mag.* for Aug., 1823, and a third in the *Meth. Mag.* about 1796, wrote a memoir of himself, which was published after his death in the *W. M. Mag.* for Oct., 1830."

"My paternal grandmother, Catherine Spencer, *née* Taylor was, like her husband, a follower of John Wesley. She knew him personally, and was among the few who attached themselves to him in the days when he was pelted by the populace. At the time of her death [1843, aged 84.] she was the oldest member of the Wesleyan Connexion in Derby." (I, 19).

Of an annexed portrait H.S. says:—"This sketch [made after one in 1841] shows her as wearing the plain Methodist cap, which she adhered to all through life: this being a part of that wholly unornamented dress which, in

1. 2 vols., 1904, Williams & Norgate.

2. Misprinted "Upworth" both times.

3. 'In this it is stated that John Brettell was "converted" by a local preacher named Brettell.' (Footnote, I, 7-8).

the early days of Methodism, was, I think, *de rigueur*—a point of community with Quakerism.”⁴ (I, pp. 19, 20).

Of his mother, *née* Harriet Holmes (b. 1794) H.S. says : —“Brought up as a Wesleyan, and adhering to Wesleyanism through life, she might . . . be classed as a nonconformist. But she simply accepted and retained the beliefs given to her in early days, and would have similarly accepted and retained another set of beliefs . . . Constitutionally she was averse to change. (I, 56).”

“I have named the fact that my father’s family, as well as my mother’s, were Wesleyans ; and during my childhood both parents belonged to the body. It would appear, however . . . that even in those days my father betrayed an incipient alienation from it. The Wesleyan church discipline was repugnant to such a nature as his ; and in the course of my boyhood his repugnance became manifest. I believe that the immediate cause of his final secession was his frequent contact with the Methodist ministers on the occasions of the meetings of the Methodist book committee—a committee which managed the Methodist library. [His objection was to their exclusive selection of religious, and especially Methodist works, whereas he wished to include scientific and other secular books.] Further, he found that in their priestly capacity they exercised a kind of direction over other members of the committee who belonged to their congregations. This he resented more and more.” (I, pp. 82, 83).

Without actually joining the Quakers, his father “fell into the habit of going every Sunday morning to the Quakers’ meeting house.” His mother remaining a Methodist, “there resulted a compromise ; so that from about 10 years of age to 13 I habitually on Sunday morning went with him to the Friends’ Meeting House, and in the evening with my mother to the Methodist Chapel.” (I, pp. 82, 83).—*C. Lawrence Ford*.

394. TWO MANX NOTES.—I. *Wesley’s Hymns in Manx*.—“Daniel

4. The question of Methodist dress was a matter of great concern to John Wesley, and somewhere in his writings [I forget exactly where] he expresses a half regret that he had not enforced a sort of uniform apparel on his followers. The Salvationists, who are really Methodists, have been led by General Booth to do so, no doubt greatly to the promotion of their cause. For J.W.’s views on this subject see his Sermon 88 “On Dress,” and various other references in the Index to his *Works*. “Give no ticket to any that wear enormous bonnets” (VIII, 307).

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Cowley, of Kirk-Michael, who was educated by Bishop Hildesley, and by him apprenticed to a printer, published Mr. Wesley's Hymns in Manx for the use of the Methodists of the island." (*A Tour through the Isle of Mann in 1797 and 1798. By John Feltham. Bath, 1798. p. 70*).

2. *Early Manx Methodism* (1775—1798).—"The progress of the Methodists in this Island has been no less rapid than in other countries. In this (Kirk Onchan) and in most parishes, there is a place of worship: here I heard an English sermon delivered with an animated elocution; and one in Manx, by a native, no less fervent and devout. No other denomination of Dissenters exist in the island. The progress was owing to Mr. Lawry, a native, who prevailed on Mr. Crook first to visit it in 1775. Mr. Crook preached to numerous audiences, and after some violent opposition from turbulent spirits, established many societies. Mr. Wesley visited it in 1777 and was well received." "*A Tour through the Island of Mann in 1797 and 1798. By John Feltham. Bath, 1798, p. 240.*"—(The late) *Rev. R. Corlett Cowell.*

395. TWO WESLEY LETTERS.—(1). The original of the following characteristic letter is in the Hobill Collection of Methodist literature, United Methodist Theological College, Ranmoor, Sheffield. The donor of the letter is unknown; so is its history.

London,
Feb. 11, 1779.

My dear Brother,

I am agreeably surprized with a letter from my old friend whom I long desired to see, and how I missed of seeing you when I was last at Barrow I cannot yet comprehend.

It is very probable I shall have some more work to do with regard to that wretched Infidel. For if Dr. Bealey [?], the publisher of his Works, prefixes to them a flaming Panegyric, I shall think it my duty to deal exceeding plainly, both with y^e Author & the Translator.

I am now in my seventy sixth year, and am by the wonderfull mercy of God in at least as good Health as I was in my twenty sixth; and in some respects better. So when it pleases Him,

‘He bids the Sun of Life stand still,
And stops the panting Soul.’

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I am glad you speak a word to your Brethren, on behalf of our Good Master. This is worth living for.

Believe me to be, as ever,

Dear Charles,

Y^r affectionate Brother

J. WESLEY

[Endorsement]

To

Mr Delamotte

At Barrow, near Barton

Lincolnshire.

Delamotte was Wesley's companion in Georgia. He became a Moravian : died at Barrow-upon-Humber in 1796.—*Rev. George Eayrs*. [Dr. Bealey was one of George III's chaplains and was proposing to print the works of Voltaire. See Wesley's indignant letter of 4 Jan., 1779, in Tyerman, *Wesley*, III, 288-9.—*H.J.F.*]

396. (2). In *Glad Tidings*, the Australasian *Joyful News*, for 4 Sep.' 1907, appears a letter, forwarded by Mr. A. Greenwood, of Ballarat, written by John Wesley to Mr. Greenwood's grandfather, of which the following is a copy :—

Bristol,

Oct. 8, 1755.

My dear Brother,

In a multitude of Counsellors there is safety. This is a General Rule : But your case is an exception. You must not consult with many parsons. It would only puzzle and confound you. If you advise with another, beside me, it shd be He that is as myself, that is Thomas Walsh.

Unless there shd be a very Particular Call, you shd not act publickly, till you are ordained. Give yourself to Reading, Meditation, Prayer. And do all the Good you can in a Private manner. Pride & Impetuosity of Temper will be apt to lead you out of y^e way. But what is Faith, if it will not destroy y^e one & regulate y^e other ?

I am Your Affectionate Brother

J. WESLEY

—*Rev. J. W. Seller.*

[Evidently this letter was addressed to Paul Greenwood, (ent. min., 1746, ob. 1767). This letter is specially interesting and important for its mention of an impending "ordination" of Greenwood. It is well known to our workers that Wesley, availing himself of the liberty he had recently come to believe that he possessed (20 Jan., 1746), had conferred a kind of

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ordination upon Joseph Cownley at Bristol in 1746 (Stamp, *O.H.*, 89), and that in 1755, the year of the letter, the question of separation from the Church came up in an acute form. Mr. Nattrass points out the very pertinent pages in Tyerman's *Wesley*, ii, 381-2. Paul Greenwood had administered the sacraments.—*H.J.F.*]

397. *The New Testament, with an analysis of the Several Books and Chapters.* By the Rev. J. Wesley, M.A., London. Printed and sold at the New Chapel, City Road, and at the Rev. J. Wesley's Preaching Houses, in town and country. 1790.

The above is the Title of the volume numbered 411 in Rev. Richard Green's *Bibliography*. Mr. Green's note upon it says: "It has not been reprinted." But I have now by me a copy printed in 1818 by Dewhirst, of Leeds, for Robert Harley and Co., Dunfermline. The Title Page is altered, and the Preface is much longer; but in that preface it is said, "The translation here presented to the public, is that of the Rev. John Wesley, who brought to the task both learning and genius, and whose long, indefatigable and devout attention to the Greek New Testament is well known to the religious world." Wesley's own edition has 424 pages; the Leeds one has 494. I give a copy of the Leeds title page:

A New Translation and Analysis of all the Books of the New Testament in which the subjects are properly distributed into paragraphs. By the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., Late Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. "Always carry a New Testament about you."—Dr. Adam Clarke. Printed for Robert Harley and Co., Dunfermline, 1818.

On the back of the title page, and on the last page of the volume are the words "Dewhirst, Printer, Leeds."

398. MISS FREEMAN.—(*Proceedings*, v, p. 170).—Will our members add to the references to this lady given as above, this from Jackson's *Life of C.W.*, ii, 443 (8vo. ed.) "A fortnight before [he died] he prayed with many tears for all his enemies, naming Miss Freeman. 'I beseech Thee, O Lord, by thine agony and bloody sweat,' said he, 'that she may never feel the pangs of eternal death.'"

The last reference above given, 17 May, 1783, is quite friendly. Is anything known to account for the change of feeling toward her? He died in 1788.—*H.J.F.*

399. WESLEY AT BURN MOOR FARM (*Journal*, 18-20 May, 1779).—The following note accounts for one of the small gaps in the itinerary of the *Journal*.

Under date 1779, Wesley writes that he preached in

Monkwearmouth church, on *Tuesday, May 18th*; and on *Thursday, 20th*, returned to Newcastle. There is never any mention of visits paid to Burn Moor, yet the writer has the assurance of members of the Wylam family, who lived at Burn Moor Farm, that Wesley frequently preached in the barn. *Wednesday, May 19th*, is one date that can be vouched for. On that occasion Wesley preached from ii Cor., v. 17, and under the sermon one of Mr. Ralph Wylam's daughters, named Martha, aged 8, was converted. Her grand-daughters, who live in Sunderland, gave the writer a page of the Bible used by Wesley on that occasion, and showed him the small silk shawl which their grand-mother wore at the time. The stool Wesley used was long treasured in the family as a relic, and was quite a profitable source of income for the Foreign Missionary Society, a penny being levied for that cause upon all visitors who sat upon the stool.—*Rev. B. A. Hurd Barley.*

400. MARRIAGE AT BUXTON (*Journal*, 24 May, 1783).—"N," in the winter No. of the *Meth. Rec.*, 1899, at p. 30, writes an article on Buxton and its Methodism, and quotes the above entry from the *Journal*. He adds: "Who the two friends were he married has not yet been ascertained. It would be worth while to search the registers, which no doubt are still in existence, and discover the names."

I did not know of this article, or had forgotten it, when some little time ago I wrote to the Rev. R. D. Ringrose, then curate in charge at the quaint old church of St. Ann, asking whether the registers shed any light upon the matter. He replied: "There is no reference at any possible date to John Wesley in our registers. They are on parchment sheets, signed as above." [I.e. as "John Mellor, Minister of Buxton."] "The sheet upon which, if at all, the entry would be found, is wanting."

But an answer, incomplete in so far as that the name of the lady is not found, was long ago given to the main enquiry by Rev. J. S. Stamp, in a footnote to page 13 of his memoir of Charles Atmore, *W.M. Mag.*, 1845. The bridegroom was the Rev. Cornelius Bayley, who had just obtained episcopal ordination, and was leaving Kingswood, where he had been a master since 1773. It will be noticed that Bayley had on the preceding Sunday, May 18, assisted Wesley in the service. [? at the Cathedral, then the parish church] at Manchester; as he did at Nottingham, on the day following his marriage,

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May 25th.

Bayley will be found in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* His Hebrew Grammar had great vogue. The young Adam Clarke, in the miserable days he spent at Kingswood whilst awaiting the return of Wesley to Bristol, was one day digging in the garden, and turned up a half-guinea piece. Nobody could claim it, and Adam promptly put down his name as a subscriber to Bayley's Hebrew Grammar, thus laying the foundation of his acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue. Wesley mentions "Dr. Cornelius Bayley" in letter to Rev. Dean D. (*Works*, xii, 449). Bayley was for many years the "Methodist" clergyman of St. James' Church, Manchester, which he built in 1788.

Has the page been removed from the register for the sake of the autograph?—*H. J. Foster.*

401. EXACT DATE OF PUBLICATION OF "COLLECTION OF HYMNS, &c.," (Green, No. 348).—Mr. Wallington, the reader at the Methodist Publishing House, has found an announcement as to Wesley's last tune-book, *Sacred Harmony*, which is of special interest. Dr. Osborn gave the date of its publication as 1761; but in his *Wesley Bibliography*, p. 214, the Rev. Richard Green, after referring to the 'prolonged research, which had been made by Mr. Dobson, Mr. Sugden and Mr. Hardcastle (see *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1866, p. 430), inclines to the year 1781.

The announcement which has just been discovered appears on the cover of the *Arminian Magazine* for June 1780, and reads as follows:

London,

May 1, 1780.

This day is published, price four shillings bound, A Collection of Hymns for the use of the People called Methodists, intended to be used in all their Congregations. London: Printed by J. Paramore, at the Foundry, Upper Moorfields, and sold at the New Chapel, City Road, and by Mr. Thackwray at the Chapel in West Street, Seven Dials.

Also this day is published, and to be had as above, price Seven Shillings and Sixpence Bound, in a large pocket volume, done on superfine printing Royal, *Sacred Harmony*, or a choice Collection of Psalms and Hymns, set to Music in two and three parts, for the Voice, Harpsichord, and Organ. N.B.—There are a few copies bound and gilt in a very elegant manner. Price 9s.

This seems to prove not only the exact date of publication of *Sacred Harmony*, which has (according to Mr. Green) never been confidently fixed, but also that the Large Hymn-book and the Tune-book were issued on the same day, and settles the exact date in 1780 when the former was published.—*Note by Editor, Wes. Meth. Mag., February, 1909, pp. 133-4.*

402. "I AM A HIGH CHURCHMAN, THE SON OF A HIGH CHURCHMAN" (Letter to Lord North, 15 June, 1775, Smith, *Hist. Meth.*, i, 700).—Canon Alfred Ainger (*Lectures and Essays*, i, 216), thus comments on the phrase: "Swift was, what in those days was called a High Churchman, only we must carefully disentangle this, like other political badges of that time, from any association with modern applications of them. A High Churchman, in Swift's day, was one who magnified the position of the Church, its rights, privileges, and dignity. Whatever theological or spiritual suggestions his churchmanship had were subordinate." [Cf. Dr. Rigg, *Churchmanship of John W.*, p. 72.]

403. DIALOGUE BETWEEN A PRESBYTERIAN AND HIS FRIEND, 1741. (Green, *Bibliog.*, 24).—Mr. H. W. Ball, Barton-on-Humber, has a copy of the above on the title page of which is a very interesting note in Rev. James Everett's handwriting: "This Tract, as I am informed by W. Sellon Gibson, Esqr., York, a descendant of the Rev. Walter Sellon, was sent in *MS.* to the latter by Mr. Wesley, with an express desire that he would strike out everything he might deem unnecessary to the argument. He accordingly cut down the original *MS.* to the present size, and returned it to Mr. Wesley, who, in return, sent him this printed copy, accompanied with a note stating to Mr. Sellon that he has adhered to all his dockings and suggestions, by printing the *MS.* as Mr. Sellon had returned it. Mr. Gibson had the note in the handwriting of Mr. Wesley, but told me that it had got mislaid when he gave me this Tract. June 9th, 1841, York. JAMES EVERETT."

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w Fletcher, Mr. G. A., The Bridge, Milford, Derby

w Fielding, Rev. B. F., Dunedin, Pembury, Tunbridge Wells

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Northumberland

Goble, Miss C. L., Stellminoughton, Lydd, Kent

Goldsmith, Dr., Springfield, Aldeburgh-on-Sea
Goucher, Mr. J. H., Women's College, Baltimore, Maryland,
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Green, Mr. R. W., The Elms, Wardle Road, Sale

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Greenhow, Mr. J. H., Glebelands, Stamford Road, Bowdon

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Hartley, Rev. T. G., 75, Greenway Road, Runcorn

Haworth, Rev. J. S., Eirianfa, Llangollen, N. Wales

Hayes, Mr. T., 50, Broke Road, Dalston, N.E.

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Wolverhampton

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Hudson, Rev. J. Clare, Thornton Vicarage, Horncastle

Hoyle, Rev. Arthur, 18, Ferryhill Place, Aberdeen

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Jackson, Miss., 19, Hale Road, Altrincham

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Keeling, Rev. E. B., Bewsey Manse, Warrington

w Latham, Rev. G., Melrose, Welholme Road, Grimsby
 L Lamplough, Mr. E. S., 8, Vanbrugh Terrace, Blackheath, S.E.
 L Lamplough, Mr. W., " " "
 L Lamplough, Miss, " " "
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 Loten, Mr. A. R., Hornsea, near Hull
 w Lester, Rev. G., 155, Stanley Road, Bootle
 w Lightwood, Mr. J. T., Hope House, Lytham
 Lidgett, Rev. J. S., M.A., Farncombe Street, Jamaica Road,
 Bermondsey, S.E.
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 (Seine)
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 Lockyer, Rev. T. F., B.A., Ryndville, Newbridge Hill, Bath
 L Lowe, Mr. G. E., J.P., Oakhurst, Sutton Coldfield
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 Lumley, Rev. W. B., 94, Stephen's Green, Dublin
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 Moss, Rev. Dr., Didsbury College, Manchester
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 w Natrass, Rev. J. C., B.A., B.D., 5, Wellesley Terrace, Newcastle-
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Nicklinson, Mr. J., The Gables, Sunningdale Road, New
Brighton

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on-Tyne

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Oulton, Mr. W., J.P., 22, Preeson's Row, Liverpool

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Perkins, Rev. W., Canyngton, Station Road, Hendon, N.W.

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Rigg, Rev. Dr., 79, Brixton Hill, London, S.W.

w Riggall, Rev. M., Hathersage, nr. Sheffield

Riggall, Mr. F. W., Heck House, Grimsby

Roberts, Mr. Thos., Stapleton Cottage, Shrewsbury

Robinson, Dr., Todmorden Road, Burnley

Robinson, Rev. W. A. H., Aughnacloy, Co. Tyrone

w Rowe, Rev. G. S., 65, Westmoreland Road, Bromley, Kent

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Row, E.C.

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Ryle, Rev. M. F., 7, Albany Terrace, Dundee

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Stothard, Mr. A. M., Balholm, Wilmslow Road, Didsbury
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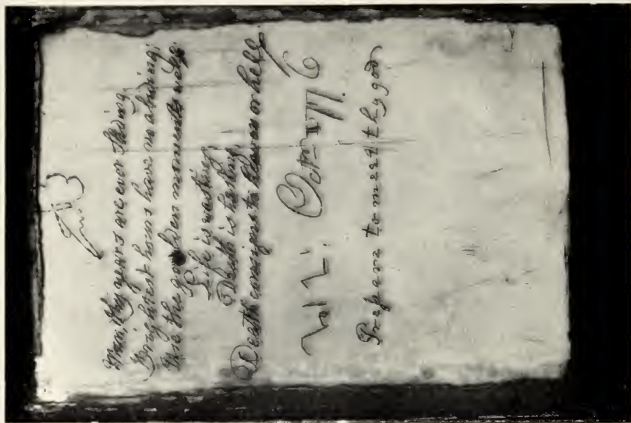
Revs. A. Clayton, R. C. Cowell, R. Green, T. H. Horrell,
S. Lees, and J. Preston.

Messrs. A. J. Fletcher, C. A. Federer, R. T. Gaskin, J. Bayley
Lees, J.P., J. Smallpage, William Jones.





INSCRIBED WINDOW-PANE (1),
AT ELDWICK CRAGG, BINGLEY.
SIZE OF PANE $5\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{1}{2}$ INCHES.



INSCRIBED WINDOW-PANE (2),
AT ELDWICK CRAGG, BINGLEY.
SIZE OF PANE $5\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{1}{2}$ INCHES.

INSCRIBED WINDOW-PANES IN A YORKSHIRE FARM-HOUSE.

The accompanying photograph represents two leaded panes which formed part of a window at Toils Farm, at Eldwick (Heldwick) Cragg, in the Bingley Circuit. The farm at the time of the scratchings was tenanted by Mr. John Whitley, a local preacher and class leader; and here the early Methodist preachers found rest and refreshment. His descendants state that it is a tradition in the family that the Rev. J. Wesley always called at this farm on his journeys between Keighley or Bingley, and Otley or Guiseley. The House is very near to the old road, and, judging by the *Itinerary*, he would call eight times.¹ He is believed also to have written the poetry and the shorthand, but for this I can find no warrant.

The PORTRAIT on the first pane is evidently intended to represent Wesley. There is an abortive J to the right, and, although we miss the long nose, eager eyes, and masterful chin of the great evangelist, yet in pose, and arrangement of hair, it is evidently 'after' the portrait taken by Nathanael Hone, R.A., now hanging in the National Portrait Gallery, or the engraving of this by Bland, made 1765, and published in Wesley's Notes on the Old Testament.²

The SHORTHAND, interpreted by Williamson's system (1775), is the text, I John, iv, 16 :

G is lv, n he t dwlth in lv dwlth in g n g in hm. Sml Smth. The importance which Mr. Wesley attached to the teaching of this text is shown in a letter he wrote to Miss "Betsey" Ritchie, who then lived in this circuit (17 Jan., 1775. *Works*, xiii, 52). "We

1. 9 July, 1761; 28 June, 1764; 4 August, 1766; 26 April, 1774; 10 June, 1777; 19 April, 1779; 23 April, 1780; 18 July, 1784; and possibly 27 April, 1776.

2. See Notes by Mr. J. G. Wright in *W.H.S. Proc.*, iii, 187-8, vi, 37.

see distinctly what we have to aim at, we see the prize, and the way to it! Here is the height, here is the depth of Christian experience! God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him." Samuel Smith would, I believe, scratch the above text after he came into this circuit in 1776, in the shorthand he had just learnt.³

The date 1675 is evidently a mistake.

In Rev. Thomas Stanley's *Life of Francis Whitley*, he states that when Whitley settled at Eldwick in 1759, "the house was not ready." I take this to mean that the erection was not complete. If we may conjecture that it is intended for 1765, it would make it possible that the portrait was taken from Bland's engraving of that date, as I have suggested above.

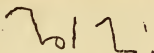
On 20 Feb., 1776, Mrs. Whitley died. The biographer of her son Francis writes (*Meth. Mag.*, 1823, p. 255) "She witnessed a good confession for many years. She was a nursing mother to some of our first ministers, who were kindly entertained at her house, and her end was glorious." I think the inscriptions on the second pane were written under the solemnizing influence of her death, and also to emphasize Mr. Wesley's appeal to Mr. Whitley to enter the ministry, as he was now free to "travel." When Mr. Wesley urged him to this he declined, saying, "I have only two sermons, Sir, what am I to do?" Mr. Wesley replied, "God that has enabled you to preach two, can give you ability to preach two thousand." This interview probably took place in the after part of Saturday, 27 April, 1776, when Mr. Wesley preached in the morning in Bingley Church, to a crowded congregation, from Acts xxiv, 25. Thomas Taylor, the superintendent minister, writes in his diary:—"I never saw him weep while preaching before now. He spoke awfully, and the congregation heard attentively." Mr. Whitley yielded to Mr. Wesley's entreaties and was admitted on trial by the Conference of 1777.⁴ He however remained in the ministry only two years, after which he retired into private life. The shorthand, interpreted by the cumbrous system of Aulay Macaulay (1747), is the signature

3. The text "God is love" was scratched on the following windows about this period:—1. By Joseph Guilford, 1764, in the preachers' room at Booth Bank, Cheshire. 2. By Rev. J. Wesley, 1771, in the preachers' room at Low Fell, Gateshead. 3. By Mrs. Hester Ann Rogers, in the house next Belmont Row Chapel, Birmingham. The Wesleys sometimes used as the motto of their family arms, "God is love."—*Proc.*, i, 97-100.

4. Not 1774, as the local guide books state. See note by Rev. H. J. Foster, *Proc.*, vi, 96.

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'Samuel Smith,' the name of the second minister in the circuit.



Samue l Smi th

Mr. Smith had evidently learned the system (which partakes more of the nature of cypher than of shorthand) in his youth, and afterwards learned the more useful system of Williamson. The poetry has none of the Wesley ring about it; it is beneath the Wesley plane of thought and expression, and not to be found in the works of John or Charles Wesley. The handwriting is not that of Wesley; neither is it that of Thomas Taylor, nor of Miss Ritchie, who were both in the circuit at the time. Nor was Mr. Wesley in the neighbourhood in October. As the formation of the figures of the date and the quality of the handwriting of the poetry are very similar to those in the circuit book for 1777, now in the possession of Mr. J. W. Laycock, of Keighley, Mr. Smith is presumably the writer of the poetry. Numerous additions were made to the church during his ministry at Bradford and in this circuit, but he afterwards lost touch with Methodist work, and in 1779 he ceased to "travel," and joined the Swedenborgian Church.⁵

THE HANDWRITING OF THE TEXT (Amos iv, 12) differs from that of the poetry. It has some slight similarity to that of Wesley, but he formed several of the letters differently: he would hardly have written the word 'God' with a small g, and it was his custom at this time to add his initials after autograph inscriptions.

On a third pane is scratched the following inscription:—"Death, Judgement, Heaven and Hell, Prepare to meet thy God. Amos.—J. Denton, April 9th, 1802." J. Denton was the Wesleyan minister here at that date. When Mr. John Whitley entered the ministry, his son Francis took charge of the farm, and for the next 44 years this house continued to be the centre of Wesleyan influence in the village. He was a zealous local preacher, for 48 years never neglecting, it is said, a single appointment; and for 52 years, as member and leader, he was absent from his class only three times.

One of his grandsons, who lived for some time at this house, was John Nicholson, the Airedale Poet. At one time Nicholson

5. See note by Rev. H. J. Foster, *Proc.*, vi, 88.

met in his grandfather's class and was a popular and effective local preacher.

GEORGE SEVERS.

[References to the use of shorthand by Methodist preachers will be found in *Proc.* VI, under N. & Q., 377, 389.]

ADAMS, THE OSMOTHERLEY PRIEST.

In the W.H.S. *Proc.*, iii, 89-95, appears an article on the old Osmotherley Society Book, and some account is given of the introduction of Methodism into that Yorkshire village. Reference is also made to a Mr. Adams, who, on the authority of Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, i, 485, is said to have been a Roman Catholic priest at the time of Wesley's visit. This opinion was strongly contested by the late Rev. Thomas McCullagh, in an interesting article in the *W.M. Mag.* for Jan., 1903. This article, in turn, formed the starting-point of a discussion carried on for some time in the *MS. Journal* of the W.H.S. Wesley's first meeting with Adams was at the Orphan House, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1745, the year after a proclamation by which all Papists were commanded to depart from the cities of London and Westminster, and were forbidden to leave their country homes, in any direction, for more than five miles distance. Osmotherley is some fifty miles from Newcastle; one correspondent, in view of this proclamation, therefore suggested that Adams, instead of being a Romish priest, was a member of a small congregation of Non-jurors, worshipping in that secluded place. This view is, however, negatived, and the priesthood of Adams determined, by a work published in 1898, the title and relevant sections of which are here given:

"THE FRANCISCANS IN ENGLAND, 1600-1850, being an authentic account of the *Second English Province of Friars Minor*, by the Rev. Father Thaddeus, O.F.M., author of "The Pilgrim's May Wreath," &c., &c. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company, 1898. 8vo."

On page 169, under Osmotherley, Yorkshire, we find: (Title: "Our Lady of Mount Grace"). "The residence of Mount Grace dates from the year 1665, when it was accepted by the

Chapter. The following year Father William Shepherd was sent thither with the injunction to conform himself to the instructions he would receive from Father Francis à S. Magdalena. The beginning of this place is thus recorded by Father Bonaventure Parry, who had been Preses here. 'Osmotherley House, in Yorkshire, was given us by Lady Walmsley, with all the outhouses, a little garden and field, for which she also bought an estate in the Dales of twenty pounds annually and gave it us for ever, on condition of keeping and maintaining one in the said house, for performing duties there for the benefit, devotion and comfort of pilgrims, which has been successfully continued above thirty years, and may so for many more, provided good, zealous persons be placed there.' In 1674, Father Francis Osbaldeston, or à S Magdalena, was still "Rector" of Mount Grace. He was succeeded the following year by Marianus Napier. Then came Francis Hardwick in 1680; and the following year, still as "Rector," Father Bernardine Langworth. He governed the residence many years, and during his office the title of Rector was altered to that of Preses. His successors were:—Bernard Price, 1701-4; Bruno Taylor, 1704-7; Ambrose Ogle, 1707-28; Bernardine Metcalfe, 1728; Peter of Alcantara Adams, 1729-1732, and so on; and on page 191, 'Adams, Peter of Alcantara, was approved for preaching and hearing confessions in 1725. Appointed Preses of the residence of Mount Grace, 1729-1732.' He is mentioned again in 1734 and in 1737.

In Wesley's later references in the *Journal* to his friend at Osmotherley, he gives to him the name of Mr. Watson ["quivering over the grave," 19 June, 1776; "just dead, after living a recluse life near fifty years," 8 May, 1777]. Tyerman accordingly speaks of him as "Adams or Watson Adams." Now throughout the above book the reader will notice that many of the Fathers changed their names, and the name in religion is followed by the baptismal name given in brackets, from which it may be inferred that this priest's name was "Watson Adams," changed to "Peter of Alcantara Adams."

The proclamation mentioned above was one of military urgency: it simply cleared Roman Catholics out of London, and kept them stationary in their country houses for the time. Tyerman is right in saying that if there was any imprudence in intercourse at this time between Wesley and a Roman Catholic priest, it was on Wesley's part; though we must remember that, as matter of fact, such priests did not figure in the rising of 1745, whilst Non-jurors did so.

Thus far we are indebted for much of the material of this article to a communication from the late Mr. F. M. Jackson. Subsequently the Rev. Richard Butterworth inserted some further annotations in the *MS. Journal*, of which we now gladly make use :

Dr. Stamp in his *Orphan-House of Wesley*, pp. 55—6, says that Adams married, lived in the old Popish Hall at Osmotherley, owned property there and died there after a recluse life of nearly fifty years. It is very significant that in *The Franciscans in England*, Adams is only said to have been "Preses" for one term, and that there is no mention of him after 1737, which is eight years before he first met Wesley, and forty years before he died. Charles Wesley in his *Journal*, 31 Dec., 1746, relates how Mr. Adams conducted him to his house and then to *his chapel*, and John Wesley in a letter to his brother, 23 April, 1745, speaks of the latter as "a large chapel which belonged, a few years since, to a convent of Franciscans Friars." Osmotherley House (as is stated in the quotation above), was given to the Franciscans by Lady Walmsley, with all the out-houses, a little garden and a field, together with an estate in the Dales ; but in 1723 the ownership of the property at Osmotherley was questioned at the Bishop's Court, at Northallerton, and no deeds could be found. Whether this dispute has any connection with Mr. Adams' ownership of "the Old Popish Hall" and the chapel we cannot say. In conclusion we beg to add that on the last two of the four visits of Wesley to Mr. Adams, he speaks of his host as Mr. Watson, but this need not awaken surprise, inasmuch as some of the Franciscans had several aliases, as well they might in those dangerous times. We would also express the confident belief that Adams had left the brotherhood before he sought the interview with Wesley at the Orphan House, and afterwards invited Wesley to preach in the chapel at Osmotherley, since the Methodist leader never speaks of him as a priest, nor could a priest invite a Protestant to minister in his chapel.

To these observations of Mr. Butterworth it is only necessary to add that his suggestion, following Stamp, as to the property scarcely fits in with the record in *The Franciscans in England*. There we read that when the dispute arose, the matter came before the Chapter in 1723, and it was asked "What is to be done, now that the justices of the realm call our ownership of the residence of Mount Grace into question?" The reply was : "Our residence is at present in danger, but we must endeavour to retain possession by all lawful means possible." The narrative then proceeds : "This storm also passed, and the fathers

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enjoyed many years of peace and tranquillity afterwards in this place." On a later page it is stated that appointments of "Preses" were made until 1812.

To sum up, the identity of Wesley's friend with Peter of Alcantara Adams (during whose term "the roof was extensively repaired") can scarcely be doubted. But whether he was a priest when he first made the acquaintance of Wesley in 1745, and still more whether he so continued to the end of his life, may well be questioned.

J. CONDER NATTRASS.

[The Rev. A. A. Williams supplies me with the following certified entry from the register of burials at Osmotherley parish church: "Burials in 1777. Mr. Thomas Addoms, bur: April y^e 23rd." He adds, "The Sexton used to make the entries then, and was illiterate. There are many words misspelt. It must be the same, as 'Mr.' is only used for a Priest, or the Squire's family. He was usually called *John* Adams, but here *Thomas*." The name "Watson" remains still an unsolved problem. But for the repetition of the name "Watson" at the two last dates above quoted, I should not hesitate to suggest a simple lapse or confusion of memory, with (say) the name of "my old host, good Stephen Watson" of Weardale (10 June, 1784). In the earlier editions of the *Journal*, under 17 March, 1790, "Porter" is printed for "Vernon," which is Jackson's correction and is the true name (See *M. Mag.*, 1826, p. 82). I presume "Porter" must be according to Wesley's "copy" for the printer, though in the shorthand diary he writes "Tewksb Mr. Vn."—H.J.F.]

DOROTHY RIPLEY.

In Wesley's *Journal*, under date 13 June, 1786, he recalls one of his devoted helpers, William Ripley. Previous issues of the *Proceedings* have contained references to Ripley and have paid honour to his memory. From papers and letters which I have gathered, I have endeavoured to trace the remarkable career of his daughter, Dorothy Ripley. If members of the W.H.S. have any of her published works, I shall be grateful for the mention of them.

Dorothy Ripley was born in 1767, and often met Wesley and his fellow preachers, at her father's home at Whitby. Ripley suffered many business misfortunes, and had to face poverty. As a

builder, he had workmen around him, and Dorothy Ripley tells of "witnessing my father lay out his last guinea to relieve suffering, employing men in winter beyond his ability, and trusting to the living God to return it in spiritual riches."

In her early years, deeply impressed by the teaching of the Methodist preachers, she made a vow to "take God as her husband," and to spend a life wholly devoted to His love and service. In 1801 she felt called to cross the Atlantic, to labour among the negro slaves, and in December of that year left home, to walk and travel by waggon on the way to London. Failing a vessel there, she went to Portsmouth, and then to Bristol, only sailing on 13 Feb. She had no money, but put her trust in what she describes as the Bank of Faith. The penniless woman not only crossed to America, but secured an interview with Thomas Jefferson, President of the U.S., and told him her mind on the subject of slavery. The author of the Declaration of Independence listened with bowed head, and gave her his approbation. For two years she passed from city to city, pleading the cause of the "despised Æthiopian," always finding help to meet her immediate needs, though often going hungry.

In 1805, after two months in a sailing ship, she again visited America, and went to preach to the Indians. She next emulated John Howard, and visited the prisons of America in regular order, and records her experiences in language as harrowing as that of the great prison reformer. In 1806 she again sought Jefferson, to beg permission to preach in the Capitol at Washington. This request was granted and she preached from the Speaker's chair, Jefferson and many senators being present and "taking her message as direct from God."

The year was spent in preaching a gospel of pity to the slave owners, and of patience to the slaves. She courageously made Charleston, the stronghold of Southern slavery, her centre, and the descriptions of slave life given in her *Journal* are terrible to read.

For thirty years she appears to have travelled on such errands. She crossed the Atlantic eight or nine times, and undertook long and difficult journeys without friend or companion. She would permit no collection to be made on her behalf when preaching, taking from her friends sufficient to meet her immediate needs and no more. She published several small volumes, including *An account of the Extraordinary Conversion and Religious Experience of Dorothy Ripley* (1817) and *The Bank of Faith* (1822).

She died in Virginia, 23 Dec., 1831, aged 62.

PROCEEDINGS.

The particulars I have been able to gather indicate a career of a very unusual kind, and it has seemed worth while to attempt this connected account of her travels and experiences.

ARTHUR MOUNFIELD.

[For William Ripley, see *Proc.*, IV, 127 ; also VI, 37-42, where there is a reference to Dorothy Ripley].

AN EXAMINATION OF QUOTATIONS IN THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WESLEY.

(See *Proceedings*, Vol. V.)

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER.

Much of the substance of this Paper has already been entered more or less fully in N. and Q., of Volume V ; but to tabulate the various items in one connected view may be helpful to our workers. The references are to the Conference Office Edition of 1872.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) H.J.F., Rev. Henry J. Foster. | (2) F.R., Mr. Frank Richards. |
| (3) A.H.V., Rev. Alfred H. Vine. | (4) H.A.S., Mr. H. Arthur Smith. |
| (5) G.P.G., Dr. G. P. Goldsmith. | (6) C.L.F., Mr. C. Lawrence Ford. |
| (7) J.C.N., Rev. J. Conder Natrass. | |

I. AFTER-FINDS ALREADY RECORDED IN N. & Q.

Journal, II, 96. Cum frigida parvas
May 4, 1748. Praeberet spelunca domos ; ignemque laremque,
Proc., V, 29, 64. Et pecus et dominos, communi clauderet umbra.
—Juvenal, *Sat.*, VI, 2-4. [H.J.F.]

Journal, II, 283. Hominis magnificentiam !
Aug. 8, 1756. —Possibly an imitation of Plautus, *Menæchmi*,
Proc., V, 30, 64. IV, iv, 615. Hominis impudentem audaciam !
[C.L.F.]

Journal, III, 92. But wondered at the strange man's face
May 1, 1762. As one they ne'er had known.
Proc., V, 118, 248 —Congreve : *Doris*.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

But who o'er night obtained her grace,
She can next day disown ;
And stare upon the strange man's face
As one she ne'er had known.

[A.H.V.]

Journal, III, 378. The last faint effort of an expiring muse.
Sept. 5, 1769. —Sam. Wesley, Senr., *Elegy on Robert Nelson*.
Proc., V, 119, 160 Let friendship's sacred name at least excuse

This last effort of a *retiring* muse ;
For Nelson oft she strung her humble lyre,
And on his tomb may decently *expire*.

J.W.'s reminiscence is somewhat confused. See a letter of J.W. to C.W.,
Works, XII, 141, and for the *Elegy in extenso*, the Appendix to Teale's
Lives of English Laymen, including that of Nelson (1842).

[H.J.F. and C.L.F.]

Journal, IV, 139. All but their attention, dead.
Oct. 16, 1778. —Congreve : On Mrs. Arabella Hunt singing
Proc., V, 118, 248 Let me be all, but my attention, dead.

For the context see *Proc.*, V, 248.

[A.H.V.]

II. AFTER-FINDS NOW FIRST RECORDED.

Journal, I, 72. Nihil est quod hactenus feci.
Jan. 8, 1738. —From the *Imitatio* of Thos. à Kempis, I, 19, 1.
Proc., V, 25. Adjuva me, Domine Deus, et da mihi
nunc hodie perfecte incipere, quia nihil est quod hactenus
feci.

[C.L.F.]

Journal, I, 327. Nulli laedere os.
Sept. 3, 1741. —Terence, *Adelphi*, V, 4, 10.
Proc., V, 27. Clemens, placidus, nulli laedere os, arridere omnibus.

[H.A.S.]

Journal, II, 132. Noli duriter agere cum tentato.
May 5, 1749. —To Wesley's own reference to à Kempis add
Proc., V, 29. *Imitatio*, I, 13, 4.
Saepius accipe consilium in tentatione, et cum tentato
noli duriter agere, sed consolationemingere.

[C.L.F.]

Journal, IV, 149. Aegri somnia.
April 22, 1779. —Horace, *Ars Poet.* 7.
Proc., V, 88. Credite Pisones, isti tabulae fore librum
Persimilem, cujus velut aegri somnia vanae
Finguntur species.

[C.L.F.]

PROCEEDINGS.

Journal, I, 308. Union of mind, as in us all one soul.
May 1, 1741. —*Par. Lost*, VII, 705, but with 'both' for 'all,'
and "or" for "as." [H.J.F.]

Journal, II, 168. But death had swifter wings than love.
Nov. 8, 1749. C. Wesley also quotes this, *Journal*, 10 July, 1736.
Proc., V, 115. [H.J.F.]

Journal, III, 283. A not expected, much unwelcome guest.
June 15, 1767. —Till the actual line is found, we may com-
Proc., V, 118 pare Congreve, *Mourning Bride*, III, 1.
Zara :—You seem much surprised.
Osmyn :—At your return, so soon, and *unexpected*.
Zara :—And so *unwished*, *unwanted*, too, it seems.
[C.L.F.]

Journal, III, 461. Leave off thy reflections, and give us thy
April 28, 1772. tale.—In default of anything nearer, I venture
Proc., V, 153. to suggest a possible reminiscence of Chaucer,
Cant. Tales, *The Reve's Prologue* :—
When that our hoste had herd this *sermoning*
He gan to speke as lordly as a king,
And sayde : What amounteth all this wit ?
What ? shall we speke all day of holy writ ?
Say forth thy tale, and tarry not the time. [C.L.F.]

Journal, IV, 187. All was "still as summer's noontide air."
June 25, 1780. —*Par. Lost*, II, 308, 309.
[H.J.F.]

III. ADDENDA.

Journal, I, p. 131. Reques in sanguine Christi, &c.
Aug. 12, 1738. H. Moore says that this, so far as "internorum," is a
definition which Wesley had requested of Arvad Gradin,
and which A.G. had therefore written out for him. Moore says that Gradin
added the concluding words : "verbo . . . tranquilli," as a testimony of his
own experience. *Life of Wesley*, i, 396. Hutton to Zinzendorf, 24, Oct.,
1739, speaks of "the sweet repose in the blood of Christ," as a theme on
which Spangenberg had been speaking very effectively in a lovefeast in
London. *Hutton*, p. 44. [H.J.F.]

Journal, I, 290. Anima Mundi.
Oct. 14, 1740. —*Virg., Georg.* IV., 219-227. *Aen* VI., 724-732
Proc., V, 26. The Plato passages are of course pre-Stoic ; but they
were meant to illustrate only τὸ πᾶν.
[F.R.]

Journal, II, 99. Diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.
 May 11, 1748. —See *Works*, xii, 411, where J.W. alters to the
Proc., V, 29. imperative form in his directions to Benson
 about Kingswood School, figuratively implying, "Do just what
 you please." [C.L.F.]

Journal, II, 375. As to the interpolated clause, compare
 July 4, 1756. Wesley's free handling of Horace, *Ep.* I, 16,
Proc., V, 30, 64. 52-3 in *Sermon*, II, iii, 9 :—
 Oderunt peccare boni, virtutis amore :
 Oderunt peccare mali, formidine poenae.
 Here the first line is correctly quoted : but in the second Horace himself wrote
Tu nihil admittes in te formidine poenae. [H.J.F.]

Journal, II, 452. Rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa
 June 29, 1758. Fortuna.—See *Works*, IX, 230, for the same
Proc., V, 47. quotation, but in varied form. [C.L.F.]

Journal, III, 26. Tibi parvula res est.
 Nov. 22, 1760. —See *Works*, IX, 230, where the whole line
Proc., V, 49. is given.
 For the *Letter to Mr. Downes*, see *Works*, IX, 96-109,
 where (p 109) the quotation is supplemented by another line from Horace,
Ep. I, 7, 98 :—
 Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est. [C.L.F.]

Journal, III, 98. Secundum artem.—Said of death "by rule
 July 27, 1762. of medical art." To Moliere add Byron *Don*
Proc., V, 50. *Juan*, Canto. x, 42 :—
 "This is the way physicians mend or end us,
Secundum artem."
 Southey says of Dr. Beddoes : "I should rather trust myself to his experience
 than be killed off, *Secundum artem.*" *Life*, II, p. 24. [C.L.F.]

Journal, III, 308. Articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae.
 Dec. 1, 1769. —Connected with Luther by J.W. in *Works*,
Proc., V, 51, 247. V, 235, and X, 432-3. [C.L.F.]

Journal, IV, 101. Spectaculum Deo dignum.
 June 9, 1777. —To Martial add Seneca, *De Div. Prov.*, as
Proc., V, 87. given in Benham's Book of Quotations, p. 456.
 "Ecce spectaculum dignum, ad quod respiciat intentus
 operi suo Deus. Ecce par Deo dignum, vir fortis cum mala fortuna
 compositus." Martial supplies, virtually, the phrase, Seneca the sentiment, in
 harmony with J.W.'s use of it. [C.L.F.]

PROCEEDINGS.

Journal, IV, 149. The gentleman at Argos (Horace).
 Apl. 22, 1779. —See *Works*, xiii, 426, where J.W. himself
Proc., V, 88, 248. translates, or rather paraphrases. Here also
 the application is to Swedenborg. [C.L.F.]

Journal, IV, 158. Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine cunctos
 July 9, 1779. Ducit, &c., v.l., captos.
Proc., V, 88. Cunctos is the right reading; Walker's text is often bad.
 [F.R.]

Journal, IV, 287. C. Wesley also uses the quotation, in yet
 Aug. 22, 1784. another altered form. *Journal*, 27 Dec., 1736.
Proc., V, 89. Cedite Germani latrones, cedite Galli. [H.J.F.]

Journal, I, 265. Secret, refreshing as the silent dews.
 March 5, 1740. —In *Works*, xiii, 95, the line appears strangely
Proc., V, 112, 248. altered: *Sweet*, refreshing as the *violet* dews.
 Either two printer's blunders overlooked, or possibly a
 lapse of memory at the age of 82, this bearing date 1785. [C.L.F.] [A
 printer's error uncorrected; one of many such. H.J.F.]

Journal, II, 485. O for one drop of the blood of Christ!
 May 28, 1759. —Cf. Thomas Aquinas' hymn, "Adoro Te
Proc., V, 181, devote."
 248. Me immundum munda Tuo sanguine
 Cujus una gutta saluum facere
 Totum mundum posset omni scelere. [G.P.G.]

Journal, III, 22. Of Him that did salvation bring, &c.
 Dec. 20, 1760. —To the other reff. add *Collection of Psalms*
Proc., V, 183. and *Hymns*, J. & C. Wesley, 11th ed., 1789.
 [C.L.F.]

Journal, III, 433. *The Lady's Looking-Glass*.
 June 1, 1771. —Highly commended for both diction and
Proc., V, 120, 248. moral in *Works*, xiii, 421.
 Wesley revised his earliest preference of Prior to Pope,
Letter to Furley, *Works*, xiii, 379. [C.L.F.]

Journal IV, 359. The leisure to be wise.
 Feb. 18, 1787. —To Matthew Arnold add Eccclus. xxxviii, 24.
Proc., V, 156. "The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of
 leisure; and he that hath little business shall become wise."

- Journal*, IV, 372. The river "rolled its sinuous train."
 May 4, 1787. —Cf. III. 404. Both variants or reminiscences of P.L., VII, 305-6. [H.J.F.]
Proc. V, 157. Compare also "sinuous" with *Par. Lost*, IX, 516, where the serpent is "tortuous." [A.H.V.]
 See also *Par. Lost*, VII, 481. "Streaking the ground with sinuous trace," spoken of "Whatever creeps the ground, insect or worm," 475-6. [J.C.N.]
- Journal*, IV, 430. So fleets the comedy of life away.
 July 5, 1788. Cf. the title of Balzac's Work: *La Comédie Humaine*. [C.L.F.]
Proc., V, 157, 248.

IV. QUOTATIONS NOT YET TRACED TO THEIR SOURCE, EITHER FULLY OR APPROXIMATELY.

LATIN.

- Journal*, I, 131. Credendo credere, et in credendo perseverare (V, 25).
Journal, I, 327. Sinere mundum vadere ut vult: Nam vult vadere (V, 27).
Journal, III, 217. Vocatio ad opus, et ad munus.
Journal, III, 219. Cultus non institutus est indebitus (V, 50).
Journal, III, 476. Tandem extorquebis ut vapules (V, 53).
Journal, IV, 56. Quantum dispar illi! (V, 87).

ENGLISH.

- Journal*, II, 108. His scolding heroes, and his wounded gods. (V, 114).
Journal, II, 340. Dart into all the melting flame, &c. (V, 181).
Journal, II, 349. No dying brute I view in anguish here, &c. (V, 115).
Journal, III, 41. O what a tuneful wonder seized the throng, &c. (V, 117).
Journal, III, 57. Keep thy soul spotless for thy immortal Bridegroom.
Journal, III, 268. Natures last agony is o'er, &c. (V, 216).
Journal, III, 386. A perfect pattern of true womanhood (V, 120).
Journal, III, 451. Behold what frailty we in man may see, &c. (V, 153).
Journal, IV, 50. Man was not born in shades to lie (V, 153.); and, Death sings a requiem to the parting soul, (ib.)

PROCEEDINGS.

V. CORRIGENDA (Refs. to *Proceedings*, Vol. V, only.)

- (1) p. 24, for ali read alii.
- (2) p. 25, for Ibid read Ibid p. 140.
- (3) p. 27, for sentit read sensit.
- (4) p. 28, for ψωνήσας read φωνήσας.
- (5) p. 29, for edificat read aedificat.
- (6) p. 29, for Ἀ'Kempis read ἈKempis.
- (7) p. 31, for Βυτοί read Βροτοί.
- (8) p. 31, for ope read spe.
- (9) p. 64, for andaciam read audaciam.
- (10) p. 89, Tyndarus read Tyndareus.
- (11) p. 110, for retinue read retinue.
- (12) p. 119, for III, 341 read P. 341.
- (13) p. 154, for Elirida read Elfrida.
- (14) p. 159, for Padre read Padre,
- (15) p. 160, for Life read Lives.
- (16) p. 160, for V, 4, 119 read V, 119.
- (17) p. 160, for effort (bis) read effort.

C. LAWRENCE FORD.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

404. MISS FANNY COWPER (*Proc.*, V, p. 142; *Journal*, 22 May, 1742). Since my *Note*, in *Proc.*, as above, was written, I have been favoured by Rev. H. E. Sawyer of Ashby-de-la-Zouch with the entry found by him, at my request for a search, in the parish register for 1742:

"Frances, Daughter of William Cowper, Esq., near Enfield Chace, buried in the chancel, May y^e 30th. died at Dunnington Park."

We have now the exact date of death, and, what is a more helpful clue, the name and residence of her father. Dr. Stokes still is not able to clearly trace any connection with the poet Cowper's family; though this seems exceedingly probable.

Can any member resident in North London, follow up the clue by enquiring in the neighbourhood now ascertained, or in books of local topography?

A letter of the C. of Hunt. in *W.M.M.*, Sep., 1908, 9 June, 1743, refers to the illness of Miss Anne Cowper, upon whom, on her decease, C. Wesley wrote an Elegy, which John Wesley printed in 1744 in "*A Collection of Moral and Sacred Poems*," at vol. iii, p. 285.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1762, p. 390 is noted the death of "Mrs. Cowper, of Berkhamstead, 2 Aug., 1762." This may perhaps prove to be connected with the family whose identification is sought.—*H. J. Foster*.

405. THE CHANNEL ISLANDS. *Notes on the Journal of John Wesley*. I. For the History of Methodism in the Channel Islands, see an article by Rev. J. S. Simon in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1870. For details see *Histoire du Méthodisme Wesleyen dans les Îles de la Manche*, par François Guiton, John Mason, 1846; *Vie du Rév. Jean de Queteville*, par Henri de Jersey, John Mason, 1847; *Histoire du Méthodisme dans les Îles de la Manche*, par Matthieu Lelièvre, Londres: Théophile Woolmer, 1885; *Memoir of Mrs. Elizabeth Arrivé* in *Methodist Magazine*, 1820. p. 293 sqq; *Memoir of Matthew Galichan* in *Methodist Magazine*, 1817, p. 760 sqq.

II. Notes on the *Journal* (14 August to 6 September, 1787).

(1) ALDERNEY: Wednesday, 15. "About eight I went down to a convenient spot": The Old Forge, Braye; ". . . the Governor": John LeMessurier, Lord of the Manor and hereditary Governor of Alderney.

(2) GUERNSEY: ". . . the venerable Castle" Cornet; ". . . Mr. de Jersey's, hardly a mile from town"; MonPlaisir, a farm of 152 vergées, or nearly 61 acres, which Henri de Jersey, Wesley's host, bought about 1750 from various owners, and planted as a fruit and cider farm. The house in which Wesley lodged is shown in Lelièvre, p. 229. The engraving in *Wesley his own Biographer* is a modern restoration of the same house. Thursday, 16. ". . . in a large room of Mr. de Jersey's house," built over the dairy and bake house; a preaching room that was used regularly until the 24th July, 1854, but is now demolished. ". . . At the other end of the town in our own preaching room," Les Terres, in the house of Mr. Walker, a soap boiler. Friday, 17. ". . . a walk upon the pier," now replaced by Albert Pier, on the same site, and almost of the same dimensions. Saturday, 18. ". . . dined at the

Governor's:" the Governor of Alderney, who had a house in Guernsey, and was always given his title, after the manners of the time. Sunday, 19. "Joseph Bradford preached at six in the morning at Mon Plaisir . . . I preached at half an hour past eight and the house (Les Terres) contained the congregation." In the original editions "Mont les plaisirs Terres," and in the ordinary English editions, "Mont-Plaisir les Terres;" which shows that Wesley did not edit carefully, or left it to someone who knew not the local facts. As is said under Tuesday, 16, Mon Plaisir and Les Terres are at opposite ends of the town.

(3) JERSEY: Monday, 20. ". . . went straight to Mr. Brackenbury's house," 15, Vieux Chemin, (Old Street), where a large room had been arranged for the Society. Tuesday, 21. ". . . what they call The College—," Saint Mannelier, an old endowed school, now united to Victoria College, . . . "on the top of a high hill," Hougue Bie, also called Prince's Tower. Thursday, 23. "I rode to Saint Mary's," at Mrs. LeCouteur's. Tuesday, 28. "In the afternoon I was offered the use of the Assembly Room," called also the Long Room, in the western end of the Royal Square, Jersey. Thursday, 30. ". . . We set out about nine, and reached Saint Peter Port (Guernsey) in the afternoon." Sunday, September 2. ". . . a tolerably sheltered place," tradition says the horse block, Mon Plaisir. Monday, 3. ". . . New Ground," Cambridge Park.—*Rev. M. Gallienne*. [Reference should also be made to *M. Gallienne's Note, Proc. V, 21.*]

III. On the textual confusion dealt with in *Proc.*, VII, p. 11, Mr. Gallienne adds: "François Guiton, who was a very painstaking man and lived at a time when tradition was reliable, knows nothing about an Assembly Room in Guernsey. He gets over the difficulty in the text by simply leaving out all the latter part of Tuesday 28 from "Being still detained" to the end, considering this as a mere repetition, or a marginal note thrust in by error. Lelièvre has a still more simple way of getting over the difficulty: he translates "I returned thither" by "I staid in Jersey." But he does not appear to notice the repetition of dates. Guiton's own proposal is thus exhibited:

"There are two accounts of these days—August 28 to 30—following one another: they are best disentangled by

printing the first account in brackets : thus :—

[Tuesday, 28. Being still detained by contrary winds, I preached at six in the evening to a larger congregation than ever in the Assembly Room. It conveniently contains five or six hundred people. Most of the gentry were present, and I believe felt that God was there in an uncommon degree. Being still detained, I preached there again the next evening (Wednesday, 29) to a larger congregation than ever. I now judged I had fully delivered my own soul: and in the morning (Thursday, 30) the wind serving for Guernsey and not Southampton, I returned thither, not unwillingly, since it was not by my choice but by the clear Providence of God.]

IV. MONT PLAISIR LES TERRES (*Journal*, 19 and 30 Aug., 1787). The Rev. J. S. Simon writes that this familiar spelling of the name of the home of the De Jerseys is an error, though one of long-standing. It should be "Mon plaisir." The late Rev. William Beal, author of *The Fathers of the Wesley Family*, told Mr. Simon that a friend once asked Mr. de Jersey why he built his house in a certain position or form ; on which he replied, "Bien, mon ami, c'est mon plaisir." He afterwards called his house "Mon Plaisir." In a memoir of Mrs. Elizabeth Arrivé, *Meth. Mag.*, 1820, p. 368, the printer has unintentionally confirmed and clinched this correction by giving it as "Mon. Plaisir." The brief notice of de Jersey's death, in *M. Mag.*, 1826, p. 647, prints "*Monplaisir*." Mr. Simon himself pointed out the error, in *W.M.Mag.*, 1870, p. 437.—*F*.

406. AUTHORSHIP OF HYMN 432 (Old Hymn book).—John Wesley, in "*Modern Christianity: Exemplified at Wednesbury and other adjacent places in Staffordshire*"; adds to the depictions of several sufferers from the violence of the rioters, his own experience of 20 Oct., 1743. This concludes with a page of reflections upon the wonders of God's care of him, and God's "preparation" of him by the experiences of two previous years for this crowning trial. This,—and perhaps also the composition of the little "tract" (*Green*, No. 72)—is dated at foot, October 22, 1743. Then is appended a pathetic passage of his heart's devotional life. Humbly, and utterly, he offers his soul and body to be useful . . . to do the work of God. In the course of this he says: "Hereafter no man can take away anything from me, no life, no honour, no estate ; since I am ready to lay them down, as

soon as I perceive Thou requirest them at my hands." The tract was not published until 1745, in which year was also published *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, without distinction of authorship as between John and Charles Wesley. In No. CXLV [Old Hy-Book 432, verse 2] we find:

"Hereafter none can take away
My life, my goods, my fame;
Ready at thy demand to lay
Them down I always am."

The close verbal parallelism is obvious at a glance; the stanza of the hymn versifies the thought of the prose passage. I daresay the connection has been noticed before. The question of John's authorship of any of our hymns other than his noble translations is, however, of perpetual interest. Does the close coincidence of both words and thought in the above extracted passages warrant us in appropriating this hymn to John? The title page claims some of the contents for him. The remaining verses do not correspond with any closeness to the remainder of the prose paragraph; we cannot reckon the whole hymn as a paraphrase of the entire prose passage. No doubt Charles *may* have woven his brother's prose into a hymn of his own. But this seems to me a rather strained caution in dealing with the scanty evidence.—*H. J. Foster.*

407. The Members of our Society may be glad to insert in their copies of the *Journal* the following acceptable NOTES FROM IRELAND, by the Rev. J. A. Duke, B.A., of Birr, a new member of the W.H. S.:

(1) THE BREACH OF AGHRIM (12 July, 1749).—"Breach" is simply an English approximation to the Irish word "BRISEADH," which means "defeat." "Briseadh na Boime" is in like manner the (Defeat or) Battle of the Boyne. There is an old Irish tune called the "Breach of Aghrim."

(2) GLOSTER (13 June, 1749) ['near Shinrone,' Crookshank, *Hist.*, i, 53].—This name is really in its original Irish form "Glasderrymore"; corrupted to "Glastern," and finally to "Gloster."

The builder of the "beautiful seat," was rather a Welsh than "an English gentleman,"—either Trevor Lloyd or his son. Probably the former, who was a captain in the army of Charles I; the son of a Welshman, Evan Lloyd of Bodidris, Denbighshire. Trevor Lloyd married a Miss

Medhop in 1639, by whom he acquired his Irish estate. The present owner thinks that Wesley alludes to Trevor Lloyd.

(3) Sir L—— P—— (13 June, 1749) is Sir Laurence Parsons of Birr Castle, the third baronet, who died in 1749. One of his descendants built the great telescope at Birr [Parsonstown] in 1845. His niece Miss Acton, who had become a Methodist, is mentioned by Wesley, 30 April, 1787 (*Proc.*, II, p. 140, note by C. H. Crookshank).

408. GEORGE STONEHOUSE AND THE BURNHAM SOCIETY.—In *Notes and Queries* of 25 January, 1908, 10 Ser., vol. ix, p. 77, under the heading "BURNHAM SOCIETY, SOMERSET," Mr. E. A. Petherick, "natus Bruehamensis," writes :

"The founder, if not the first president of this, one of the oldest friendly societies in the kingdom, was Mr. Richard Locke, surveyor of the parish. He published '*The History of Burnham Society*,' Bristol, 1774. This contains its 'rules for the assistance of poor persons when sick or old.'"

This was written in reply to an inquiry in the number of 11 Jan. (10 Ser. ix), by [Dr.] J. E. Odgers, Oxford, as to the origin, history and membership of this society. He has before him a pamphlet entitled: *The Pre-existence of Souls and Universal Restitution considered as Scriptural Doctrines, extracted from the minutes and correspondence of Burnham Society in the County of Somerset*. Taunton, 1798, pp. 58.

Dr. Odgers proceeds: "The editor informs us that the Rev. Sir George Stonhouse, Bart., who had written largely in favour of Universal Restitution from 1761 to his death in 1793, had left the copyright of his works to the Burnham Society; so the Society proposed to re-issue them by subscription. In the last twenty years of his life Stonehouse resided at East Brent, near Burnham. There is evidence that the Universalists sprang from the Calvinistic side of the Evangelical movement; but we read that John Wesley 'was in the habit of preaching in the Society's rooms.'" Dr. Odgers asked, "Are there any other publications of the Society? And who was the president?"

Burnham is a little seaside resort lying amongst the sandhills between Bristol and Weston-super-Mare. It is the residence of one of the ministers of the Weston S/M. Circuit. A member of our society in Burnham, a relative, I believe, of Richard Locke above mentioned, permitted me to see a volume of Wesley's *Journal* (ed. 1771-4) which had belonged

to him. It contained the entry of 16 April, 1742, where St[onehouse] of Islington is clearly mentioned. In the margin is written, "Now 1773 of East Brent, R.L." This makes certain the identity of the person referred to by Wesley under 23 August, 1781; "I set out for Cornwall. Finding, after breakfast, that I was within a mile of my old friend G.S.—, I walked over, and spent an hour with him. He is all-original still¹, like no man in the world, either in sentiments or anything about him. But perhaps if I had his immense fortune, I might be as great an oddity as he."

Under 8 Aug., 1773, Wesley mentions Stonehouse's peculiar theological opinions: "On Monday [9th] I reached Bristol. On the way [from London] I looked over Mr.—'s *Dissertations*. I was surprised to find him a thorough convert of Mr. Stonehouse's, both as to the pre-existence of souls, and the non-eternity of hell. [Cf. F. M. Jackson, *Proc.*, IV, 205]. But he is far more merciful than Mr. Stonehouse. He allows it to last (not five millions, but) only thirty thousand years!" From its date one would suppose Dr. Odgers' copy to be a republication by the Burnham Society. Probably the Bristol libraries will have copies.

There is a twofold confusion in making Mr. Stonehouse into "Sir George Stonhouse, Bart."? Wesley, the *Life of Count. of Hunt.*, and Hutton's *Memoirs*, all consistently spell "Stonehouse"; not "Stonhouse," which as consistently, in *C. of H.* and the *Peerage and Baronetages* of (e.g.) Debrett and of Foster, is the spelling of the name of Rev. Sir James Stonhouse, M.D., Bart., the friend and convert of Doddridge, and physician for many years to the Northampton infirmary; thereafter taking orders, and becoming rector of Great and Little Cheverell, near Devizes; dying at the Bristol Hotwells in 1795.² His monument, bearing an epitaph written by Hannah More, is still to be seen in the little church of St. Andrew, Dowry Square, having been replaced when this church was built upon the site of Dowry Chapel, where Sir James was buried. I have not found any

1. E.g. He had made a "strange, ugly" system of shorthand for himself, and would not use Byrom's system, though he had paid Mr. Lambert 5 gs. to learn it. Telford, *C. Wesley*, 2 Edn, p. 71.

2. He also needs distinguishing from his kinsman and predecessor in the baronetcy, Rev. Sir James Stonhouse, LL.D., who died in 1792. George Stonehouse died in 1796.

of the *Baronetages* dealing with the family of Stonehouse of Islington; nor does the *Alumni Oxonienses* attribute the honour to him, though it does this for Sir James Stonhouse. But, in fact, Dr. Odgers is simply following in his enquiry Southey's *Life of Wesley*. Subjoined to Vol. II (orig. ed.), at p. 597 is a Note (XXV), very misleadingly headed *Trevecca*, but really concerned with the Burnham Society and its origin, and with the pamphlet mentioned by Dr. Odgers. Southey writes: "Sir George Stonhouse," and Dr. Odgers has followed his authority. It is more surprising to find Henry Moore confusing, and indeed combining, the two men. In his *Life of Wesley*, vol. I, p. 489, he writes,—referring to Wesley's conversation in Latin with Zinzendorf,—“When Mr. Stonehouse (afterwards Sir James) the Rector [*sic*] of Islington, read the conversation, he observed, as Mr. Wesley informed me, ‘The Count is a clever fellow; but the genius of Methodism is too strong for him.’”

I may add that my experience of the condition of the printed text of the *Journals* inclines me to think that “Dr. S——, the oldest acquaintance I now have,” (*Journal*, 14 Jan., 1772) is George Stonehouse also, the “Dr.” notwithstanding. Wesley's amusing comment upon this remarkable “genius in little things” falls in quite harmoniously with the entry above quoted and with the fact mentioned in the footnote.—*H.J.F.*

409. COATES, EDINBURGH.—1784, Sun. 25 April: “About four I preached at Lady Maxwell's, two or three miles from Edinburgh, and at six in our own house.” This is not at Saughton Hall, where Wesley had previously visited Lady Maxwell [31 May, 1782], but at Gardener's Hall, Coates, about half-way between Edinburgh and Saughton. Lady Maxwell removed to Coates on 14 November, 1782.

1784, Sat., 22 May: “L.M.” i.e. Lady Maxwell.

1786, Sat., 27 May: “After preaching, I walked to my lovely lodging at Coates, and found rest was sweet. Wesley's ‘lovely lodging’ was at the house of Lady Maxwell.—*Rev. B. A. Hurd Barley*.”

According to Wesley's last Pocket Diary, preserved at Headingley College, he was at “Coats,” 13, 14, 15, 16 May, 1790. See *Wesley's Itinerary*.—*J.C.N.*

410. THE LEASOWES (*Journal*, 13 July, 1782, 4 July, 1787).—Mr. W. C. Sheldon points out that this home of the Shensons is in Worcestershire, and not, as Wesley,—or an early

transcriber,—says at a later entry in the *Journal*, in Warwickshire.

[The Leasowes was worth about £300 per year. William Shenstone, the poet, was born there 18 Oct., 1714. After the death of his father in 1745 he ceased to farm the property, and spent its resources in turning it into ornamental grounds. "He suffered house and land to go to ruin, that he might make beautiful gardens, with grottos, temples and inscriptions, according to the invalid taste of the day. Shenstone—who died in 1763—left Leasowes to be sold after his death for payment of the debts incurred in beautifying it." (Morley, *Eng. Lit.*, pp. 823-4). I am not sure that the Leasowes is in Worcestershire: Chambers' *Encyc.* gives "the Leasowes, Hales Owen, Shropshire," and Henry Morley's *Hist. of Eng. Lit.* says, "near Hales Owen, in a bit of Shropshire set in Worcestershire." Probably the recent changes in county boundaries have finally settled Hales Owen in Worcestershire.—*J.C.N.*]

411. TWO WESLEY PARALLELS —(I.) The following may be compared with the memorable entry in the *Journal*, under 24 May, 1738, paragraph (14):

Dean Pigou, of Bristol, *Phases of my Life* (1896), writes: "But the same year was memorable to myself inasmuch as it brought with it occasion for special thanksgiving on my part. In my Bible I have marked, 'Doncaster, December 8, 1871, *Re-natus sum, laus Deo*' It pleased God that night [one of a week's mission conducted by the elder Aitken in Doncaster Church, a good deal against Mr. Pigou's inclination, and his habits of thought and work] to reveal His Son in me, and to give me 'joy and peace in believing.'

. I saw the difference, as Canon Hoare once expressed himself to me, between two religions, working *for* and working *from* life. I saw how much one may know *about* Christ; but how different is that belief *in* Him which comes by the teaching of the Holy Ghost. On the Sunday following I felt it right to testify to my people, what God had done for my soul *Re-natus*—yes, not by baptism, but by apprehending 'the truth as it is in Jesus.' From that time God was pleased to use me as He had never used me before. I cannot but look back on that crisis in my own spiritual life with deepest thankfulness, and as, in fact, a preparation for a yet larger sphere of usefulness."—pp. 290-1.

(II.) The following, from Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, i, 58, may be compared with the accounts of Wesley's last sermon at St. Mary's, Oxford, on 24 Aug., 1744: [E.g., Dr. Kennicott's, given in Tyerman, *Wesley*, i, 449.] Gladstone "always remembered among the wonderful sights of his life, St. Mary's crammed in all parts by all orders when Mr. Bulteel, an outlying calvinist, preached an accusatory sermon (some of it all too true) against the university." Bulteel "lost his church for preaching in the open air"; (*ib*, i, 58). Morley also (i, 51) summarizing from an article in the *Edin. Rev.*, 1831, by Sir William Hamilton, and republished in *Discussions in Philosophy and Literature*, pp. 401-559, puts amongst his points of charge against Oxford; "the systematic perjury so naturalized in a great seminary of religious education."

Bulteel will probably be the clergyman thus noted in the *Alumni Oxonienses*: "Bulteel, Henry Bellender, s. Thomas, Plymstock, co. Devon, arm. BRASENOSE COLL. matric. 1 April, 1818, aged 18. B.A. 1822. EXETER COLL. M.A. and tutor, 1824. Curate of St. Ebbs, Oxford, 1826. The bishop of Oxford revoked his license 1831. He joined the Plymouth Brethren, and died 28 Dec., 1866.—H.J.F.

412. BONGS (*Journal*, 28, April, 1745; 12 May, 1747; 31, Aug., 1748).—Mr. L. Garside, of Hayfield, writes me:—"Bongs, or Bangs, as it is now called, is in the parish of Mellor, in Derbyshire. The Rev. R. W. G. Hunter, when stationed in the New Mills Circuit, contributed a special article to the *Meth. Rec.*, 7 Nov., 1901, on 'Kinderscout, a chronicle of Methodism in the Peak Country.' Among the views taken by his son, Mr. W. Roden Hunter, to illustrate this, were those giving the house at Bongs, the room in the house in which Wesley preached, and the chair he used."

For Mr. Turner, whose house it was, he refers to Everett's *Manchester*, page 41. "Everett was stationed in the New Mills Circuit in 1809, and whilst there collected much of the information given in connection with the early work in the Peak in his *History of Meth. in Manchester*." Mr. Garside adds: "On Mr. Everett's death his valuable collection of rare books and many curiosities was acquired by the Rev. G. Boaden, then president of the U.M.F.C. Assembly. They are stored in the Theological Institute."





**The
Skinners
Alley
Preaching
House,
Dublin.**

**Ancient Bridge
at Perry Barr,
Birmingham,
carrying
the Old Road
referred to,
W.H.S., vii, pp. 2, 3.**

Specially Photographed
by
Mr. C. Stanbury Madeley.



SKINNERS ALLEY PREACHING HOUSE, DUBLIN.

This ancient building is situated near the corner of Newmarket Street, formerly Skinners Alley, not far from St. Luke's parish church. It has the distinction of being the oldest existing building in Ireland associated with the preaching of the Wesleys, and probably there is only one other building in the world—the old chapel at Kingswood—which can claim a prior antiquity in this respect. It is also of peculiar interest as being the place where Irish Methodists first received the nickname "Swaddlers." Charles Wesley relates the circumstances. "One I observed crying, 'Swaddler! Swaddler!'"—our usual title here. We dined with a gentleman who explained our name to us. It seems we are beholden to Mr. Cennick for it, who abounds in such like expressions as, 'I curse and blaspheme all the gods in heaven, but the Babe that lay in the manger; the Babe that lay in Mary's lap; the Babe that lay in swaddling clouts, &c. Hence they nicknamed him 'Swaddler, or Swaddling John'; and the word sticks to us all, not excepting the clergy."—C. Wesley, *Journal*, 10 Sept., 1747.

Cennick arrived in Dublin on 3 June, 1746, and occupied the Skinners Alley Chapel until the following September, large crowds attending on his ministry. During a visit to England the work was carried on by Benjamin La Trobe, and when Cennick returned in August, 1747, there was a society with a membership of 520 persons. Some months later the building passed into Methodist hands, not, apparently, without some unpleasantness (see *Journal*, 29 March, 1748, *C.W. Journal*, 5 February, 1748, *Proceedings*, iii, 46). The Moravians eventually secured a building for a meeting-house in Big Booter Lane, now Bishop Street, and it is here that the present Moravian church in Bishop Street stands.

The old building in Skinners Alley is in a very dilapidated condition, and a close scrutiny of the photograph will show where a door and some windows have been built up. It overlooks a

yard in the rear, and is now used as a shed in connection with a coachbuilder's establishment. What purports to be a drawing of the building, as it appeared in Cennick's time, is given in *Moravian Missions* for May, 1906, but the representation is rather a misleading one as regards size, position and general appearance. In fact it bears little or no resemblance to the existing original.

D. B. BRADSHAW.

[Reference may be made to *Methodist Recorder Winter Number*, 1904, p. 79.]

TRAVELLING IN WESLEY'S TIME.¹

MODES, CHANGES, COST.

[Continued from *Proceedings*, VII, p. 8.]

14 MARCH, 1738.—Mr. Wesley travelled on horseback, as most people who could afford it then journeyed. A traveller rode his own horse throughout, or he rode post, changing horses every ten or fifteen miles. At this time the charge for a single horse was threepence per mile; for a chaise with two horses ninepence; if with four horses, one shilling and threepence. Mail coaches were not yet invented, and stage coaches were slow and scarce. There was only one coach between Birmingham and London, which travelled once a week, *via* Warwick, Banbury and Aylesbury; the fare was a guinea, only 14 lbs. of luggage was allowed, and all above to pay one penny a pound. [The single journey occupied two-and-a-half days.] Chapel-on-the-Heath (Chapel House) was a great and famous inn and posting house between Enstone and Long Compton [16 miles from Oxford and 1½ east of Chipping Norton.²]

1. In this paper as before (*Proc.*, vii, 2-8) Mr. Duignan's text is adhered to. My own or other additions are indicated by square brackets. W.C.S.

2. Dr. Johnson dined here with Boswell on 21 March, 1776, "where he expatiated on the felicity of England in its taverns and inns," in a eulogium that has become famous. The late Queen (then Princess) Victoria with her mother stayed a night here in 1826. The house takes its name from the chapel of the neighbouring priory of Cold Norton. It is now converted into a boarding house, and the stables into labourers' cottages.

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[To the note on Aldridge wagons and coaches, p. 3, may be added]: The last of the wagoners lived at Aldridge, and thirty years ago [i.e. about 1850] was a right old man. In his early days, he used to tell me, the wagons lay to at night; later on they would travel continuously and change horses like coaches, but at longer distances, and then they were called "Fly Wagons." . . . Those who wish to know something of life in a road wagon should read Smollett's inimitable description of the adventures of Roderick Random and his friend Strap, on their way from Newcastle to London.

26 FEBRUARY, 1753.—This is the first record we have of Mr. Wesley travelling by "machine," an old name for stage coach. The term lingered to the last, and coach horses were technically known as "Machiners." Stage coaches commenced running in the early part of the 17th century, but made little progress till the middle of the 18th, when main roads began to be turnpiked and improved. Until then they could not travel more than 40 to 50 miles a day, even "with the aid of six able horses." In 1739 the Chester coach took five, and sometimes six, days for the journey to London, 184 miles. The coaches carried six inside, and the outsides rode as well as they could on the seatless roof, or in a large wicker basket behind. The basket passengers must have had a dreadful time of it, for it rested on the axle-tree, as also did the driver's seat. The body of the coach was hung on leather bands. No wonder that travellers continued to prefer the saddle, until modern springs and improved roads made "machines" more comfortable and speedy. From 1750 to 1752 a "caravan" ran between Shrewsbury and London over the old Chester road. It had six horses, and professed to do the journey, 154 miles, in four days, but often occupied five. The shape of the caravan was much like a modern wild-beast van, and the inside was fitted up with benches.

2 JANUARY, 1754.—This is the first time Mr. Wesley appears to have travelled by post-chaise.

Hardy as Mr. Wesley's habits were, he promptly availed himself of the improvements made in travelling, and we have such entries as the following: 8 MARCH, 1763.—"I took the machine for Norwich." 11 APRIL, 1763.—"I took the machine for Bristol." 16 MAY, 1763.—". . . I judged it needful to make "the more haste; so I took post chaises, and by that means "easily reached Newcastle on Wednesday, 18th." The distance from London to Newcastle is 274 miles. At this time the "Newcastle Fly" was carrying passengers in three days for

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£3 6s. Mr. Wesley must have paid about £12 for his post-chaise, the rate being ninepence a mile, besides gratuities to the post boys.³

16-28 MARCH, 1767.—From Bristol to Portpatrick, via Whitehaven, is 430 miles, and allowing three days for the detention at Liverpool, Mr. Wesley rode the distance in nine days, averaging 47 miles a day, in bad weather and snow. The mail he speaks of on the 29th was not a mail coach. At this time the letters were carried on horseback [and the pace, including stoppages, seldom exceeded four miles an hour.] Mail coaches commenced to run on the 8th August, 1784,⁴ but were not extended to Scotland or Ireland until some years later.

21-22 JULY, 1779.—The felons "behind the coach" would ride in the basket, which was without springs. Their chains would necessarily rattle, and considering the discomfort of ten manacled men, jammed together, without seats, and jolted over very bad roads, it is not surprising that they "blasphemed."

9 FEBRUARY, 1787.—This is the first time Mr. Wesley appears to have travelled by the new mails, which had then recently been established. Their introduction was stoutly opposed by the post office officials, who declared Mr. Palmer's, the inventor's, plans "impossible"; that the existing system was "almost as perfect as it can be"; and "they were amazed that "any dissatisfaction, any desire for change, should exist. . . . To "arm the guards (they said) would only make matters worse, for "when once desperate fellows had determined on robbery, "resistance would lead to murder." Their fears were groundless; not a single mail coach was ever robbed in England; but in Ireland, where they were established in 1790, four armed guards did not suffice to protect them. The attacks upon them there, however, were not for plunder, but from hatred of the Government. The pace of the mails was, at first, six miles an hour, clear of stoppages, which was gradually increased to seven, eight, nine, ten, and even eleven miles; but experience taught the post office and contractors that a clear ten-and-a-half miles per hour was the utmost that could be accomplished by a night mail, with due regard to safety and punctuality. That pace involved an

3. "When Wesley began his course of itinerancy there were no turn-pikes in England, and no stage coach which went farther north than York. In many parts of the northern counties neither coach nor chaise had ever been seen."—*Southey's Life of Wesley*, ch. xv.

4. Palmer's proposals were first laid before the Prime Minister in 1783. From Birmingham the first mail commenced to run in August, 1785.

actual speed of twelve miles an hour. The mail Mr. Wesley travelled by was the London, York and Newcastle, then the only mail on the great North road. [This journey shews an incidental difficulty in travel in those days, viz: that of finding a seat at an intermediate point. On the down journey he had obtained a seat at the terminus, London, easily enough; but when he was ready to return he found the coach from York full when it reached Newark. He therefore tried another tack, and went across country, doubtless by post horse, through Leicester and Hinckley, where he preached and slept, and struck the Liverpool-London coach road at Coventry, where he found vacant places in the Liverpool mail coach, and so returned to London, having lost scarcely more than 24 hours.]

4 APRIL, 1787.—The mail here referred to was the London and Holyhead, which had commenced to run about two years previously. It left London at 8 p.m., and [arriving at Chester at about 2 a.m.] occupied about 30 hours in the journey to Chester; a clear six miles an hour.

8 OCTOBER, 1787.—This was not an uncommon trick in the coaching days, [à propos of which Mr. Duignan relates in detail a similar experience which befel "that fine old gentleman, the town clerk "of Lichfield, Mr. Simpson," who in the issue quietly ordered out horses and posted to Lichfield, the mail contractors having to pay all expenses.]

W. C. SHELDON.

"THAT VENERABLE MAN, DR. RUTTY."

It will be remembered how Johnson and Boswell made merry over the extracts from Dr. Rutty's *Spiritual Diary and Soliloquies* contained in the article on that work in the *Critical Review*. It would be easy to quote other extracts quite as amusing as those which made Johnson laugh so heartily; but we have in mind the words in the introduction: "If thou art a mere formal professor of religion, and in thy heart a citizen of this world, reading only for curiosity, or amusement, without any relish for things pertaining to salvation, and more especially, if thou art of a criticising, mocking spirit with regard to things of inward experience; in this case proceed not to the reading of the

following work; for, in such a disposition, it will only serve to thee for matter of derision." It would be easier still to give quotations from the Diary, showing the saint and the philanthropist, and such as would be heard with profit in Methodist class-meetings.

But our present purpose is limited to the interviews between the famous doctor and John Wesley. When in Dublin in the Spring of 1748, Wesley had an attack of quinsy, accompanied with high fever, which compelled him to summon Dr. Rutty, who simply prescribed the rest cure, though he saw his patient at least three times. In April of the following year, when Wesley was again in Ireland, he once more summoned the popular physician, but ere he arrived the patient had cured himself by successive applications of nettles and treacle. Not a word is said of "any fellowship of love," and unfortunately we cannot supplement the meagre account by turning to the pages of the doctor's diary, seeing that this was "opened the 13th day of the 9th month, 1753." But it contains a deeply interesting account of an interview between himself and Wesley, which the latter does not mention in his Journal:—"Fourth month, 1762, 14. "An interview with J. Wesley, with an agreeable account of the destruction of bigotry, and the prevalence of universal charity in Scotland" (see *Journal*, May 2nd to 6th, 1761), "and of the permanence and increase of the heavenly fire kindled among the colliers in 1737, and the next among the miners. A particular account of the conversion of two hundred malefactors in Newgate." The great catholic soul of the beloved physician always rejoiced to hear tidings of good things—as many entries in his diary prove. On the 11th of sixth month, 1763, is the following appreciation of Wesley and his people: "Demas and his company compass sea and land to get a penny;¹ but J.W. the believer, and others of the like spirit, compass sea and land to gain souls: these are enthusiasts in Demas's sense, but those are the real fools and madmen in the sense of every true believer." Other kindly references to the Methodists are easily found in the diary. "A glimmering of hope of some improvement of the nation from the Methodists, and from Law's writings passing several editions." "The Methodists hold conferences on spiritual experiences"; the "little conference" begun in Dublin on 5 July, 1760, was just over. Speaking of early rising he bemoans his lethargy, and says to his soul, "the Methodists out-strip thee quite, and consequently must advance beyond thee. I will catch a little of their fire, so help, Lord."

1. To whom does this paragraph refer?

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It is almost certain that he again refers to them when he writes, "O, the idleness of the members of a certain society! but, O, our idleness!" Our next quotation, beyond doubt refers to the Wesleys: "The Moravian brethren not allowed to marry until previously married to Christ, and *our friends*, apostles to America, who performed that service, previous to their marriage were of the same spirit. O my soul, how remote from these." It may be to John Wesley he refers in fourth month, 1772:—"The Christian traveller is got beyond me, even to the perfect love which casteth out fear."

The last interview between Wesley and the beloved physician was on Thursday, 6 April, 1775:—"I visited that venerable man, Dr. Ruty, just tottering over the grave; but still clear in his understanding, full of faith and love, and patiently waiting till his "change" should come." The "change" came three weeks after this affecting scene, and in a memorial of him his co-religionists wrote: "In a good old age he departed this life, with thanksgiving to God."

The extracts from the diary may seem to qualify Wesley's praise of his medical adviser, and give the impression that he was a choleric man and a *bon vivant*; but let the reader note the good physician's lamentations over his innate tendency to hasty temper, count the number of times he dined on bread and water, with occasional additions of nettles, kale, and saffron cake; observe the frequency of such entries as "attended nine patients, six of which were the glorious poor;" and above all let him note the vows and holy exercises mentioned in this book, and he will agree with the writer of the Introduction: "Thou hast before thee a good pattern of christian humility, faith, and perseverance in one who used all diligence to work out his salvation." Dr. Ruty was a Quaker, and thus describes his position in the church militant:—"1st, I am an Amen-man: 2nd, a scribe and recorder: 3rd, a visitor: 4th, perhaps an overseer: 5th, an inspector of the conduct of meetings for worship." To these must be added the office of a catechist, for he was a zealous worker amongst the young. But his catholicity recognised goodness in all the religious bodies, and his devotional reading embraced Protestants, established and dissenting, as well as Romanist authors, the reader "praising God for diffusing His light and grace through the several divided churches."

R. BUTTERWORTH.

[My copy of Dr. Ruty's Diary is the Second Edition, 1796.]

THE REV. JOHN FLETCHER.
VICAR OF MADELEY.

HIS INDUCTION AT HEREFORD.

One of the most scholarly and saintly men associated with the Wesleys in the great Methodist movement of the eighteenth century was the Rev. John Fletcher, who became Vicar of Madeley in 1760. This godly and distinguished clergyman was formally and legally instituted to his ecclesiastical office and to the cure of souls as Vicar of the parish of Madeley, at the Bishop's Palace, on the banks of the Wye, in the city of Hereford, the Bishop who inducted him being Lord James Beauclerk, Bishop of Hereford, who occupied the See from 1746 to 1787.

When a young man of twenty-six Fletcher was private tutor to the two sons of Thomas Hill, Esq., at Tern Hall, in Shropshire. On 24 November, 1756, he wrote to Wesley as his spiritual guide, asking his advice respecting his "entering into orders," giving him a brief account of his own thoughts. He said he desired no long answer, "persist" or "forbear," he says, will satisfy and influence him. Being recommended by Wesley to "persist," we find the young Swiss in the 28th year of his age ordained at Whitehall, London, 13 March, 1757, and on the same day he assisted Wesley in the administration of the sacrament at West Street Chapel. Wesley writes: "How wonderful are the ways of God! When my bodily strength failed, and none in England were able and willing to assist me, He sent me help from the mountains of Switzerland; and a helpmeet for me in every respect: Where could I have found such another?"

By the kind permission of the Registrar of the Diocese of Hereford, I recently made an examination of the original entry of the Institution of the Rev. John Fletcher to the Vicarage of Madeley, as contained in the Register of the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Father in God, Lord James Beauclerk, Bishop of Hereford, and found it took place on 7 October, 1760. As the entry is of historic interest, I have extracted the particulars which are here reproduced.

“MADELEY, V.
Institution to”

“On the seventh day of October, aforesaid, John Fletcher, clerk, was admitted to the Vicarage and Parish Church of Madeley, in the Deanery of Wenlock, County of Salop, and Diocese of Hereford, void by the cession of Rowland Chambers, Clerk, the last incumbent there; to which he was presented by Edward Kynaston, of Hardwick, in the said County of Salop, Esquire, the true and undoubted Patron thereof, in full Right, as is asserted, and he was duly and canonically instituted Vicar into the same.”

The seventh day of October “aforesaid” refers to the year 1760, there being numerous other entries for the same year. Edward Kynaston, Esquire, belonged to the well-known Shropshire family of that name. John Kynaston, Esquire, was elected a Member of Parliament for the County of Salop in 1784.

The following is an extract from a letter written by Fletcher to the Countess of Huntingdon, in which he refers to his induction at Hereford. He says: “All the little circumstances of my institution and induction have taken such an easy turn, that I question whether any clergyman ever got over them with less trouble. Among many little providences, I shall mention one to your ladyship. The Bishop having unexpectedly sent me word to go to him for institution without delay, if I wished not to be at the trouble of following him to London, I set out in haste for Hereford, where I arrived the day before his Lordship’s departure. As I went along, I thought that if my going to Madeley was from the Lord, it was providential that I should thus be called to be instituted in the country, for were it to be in London, Sir Peter Rivers, the Bishop’s Chaplain, who examined me for orders, and who made so much noise last summer in West Street Chapel, where he found me preaching, would infallibly defeat the end of my journey, according to his threatenings. Thus did worldly wisdom work in my heart, but no divination can stand against the God of Jacob, who is a jealous God, and does not give His glory to another. A clergyman named Sir Dutton Colt came to see the Bishop just as I entered the palace, and the Secretary, coming to him, said in my hearing: ‘Sir Peter is just come from London to take possession of a prebend, which the Bishop has given him; he is now in the palace; how do you rank with him?’ My surprise was great, for a moment, and my first thought was to ride away without

institution ; but, having gone too far to retreat, I had an instant strength from on high to be still and see the salvation of the Lord. I cried for strength to make a good confession before the high priest and the scribe, and I felt I had it ; but I was not called upon to use it, for the Bishop was alone, the ceremony was over in ten minutes, and Sir Peter did not come in till after. I met him at the door of the Bishop's room, and a wig I had on that day prevented his recollecting who I was." [See Tyerman's *Life of Fletcher*, p 58.]

WILLIAM PARLBY.

PREACHERS' STATIONS

AS RECORDED IN THE EARLY MINUTES.

The stations of the Methodist Preachers, as recorded in the Minutes during Mr. Wesley's lifetime, cannot be relied on as being accurate. Some of the appointments appear to have been merely provisional or tentative, and Mr. Wesley was always open to receive objections urged by his assistants, and not infrequently gave his ultimate approval to interchanges of stations privately arranged and even carried out by them. In the interests of historical accuracy it would seem desirable that the record of stations given in the Minutes should be corrected, where it can be shown from authentic documents that they are inaccurate or incomplete, and the following is a contribution in that sense, dealing with the appointments to the Bradford (Yorks) Circuit.

The Minutes for 1766 give James Oddie, Thomas Hanby, Daniel Bumstead, and Moseley Cheek, as the preachers appointed to the Birstal Circuit, which then included Bradford. The Bradford Stewards' Book only records payments to and for Hanby and Cheek, thus shewing a practical division in the circuit, Oddie and Bumstead having charge of the Birstal portion and receiving their stipends from the Birstal society, whilst Hanby and Cheek were in charge of the Bradford portion.

In 1767, Thomas Brisco and Thomas Westall were stationed at Bradford, Birstal being under the charge of Daniel Bumstead and John Nelson.

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In 1768, the preachers stationed at Bradford were Daniel Bumstead and Parson Greenwood; Christopher Hopper and Thomas Lee being presumably at Birstal.

In 1769, the Birstal Circuit was formally divided, and Bradford appeared for the first time on the Minutes as a separate circuit, comprising the ground now covered by the present nine Bradford circuits, together with what are now the Bramley and Yeadon circuits, in the Leeds District. The preachers appointed for this new circuit were Thomas Lee and John Oliver, the former residing at Bradford, the latter at Yeadon. The Yeadon Society appears to have paid Oliver's stipend, as no mention of it is made in the Bradford stewards' book; but his incidental expenses were defrayed by the Bradford stewards.

The Minutes for 1770 give Christopher Hopper and George Wadsworth as the preachers stationed at Bradford. The latter is nowhere mentioned in the stewards' book; the presumption therefore is that he was stationed at Yeadon; yet, as the class moneys received at Yeadon are fully accounted for in the Bradford book, how was Wadsworth's stipend defrayed, if he was in the circuit?

In 1771, the names given in the Minutes are Thomas Hanson and John Atlay. This is incorrect. The books show that Chr. Hopper stayed for a second year, Hanson having apparently declined to undertake the removal from Cornwall to Yorkshire. Where he went I cannot ascertain, but the following year he is found stationed at Bedford.

The stations for 1772 and 1773 are as given in the Minutes.

The names given in the Minutes for 1774 are Thomas Taylor and William Brammah; no trace of the latter, however, appears in our books.

In 1775, the names given in the Minutes are John Allen, Samuel Smith, and J.W., the latter probably indicating an appointment yet to be made by Mr. Wesley.¹ Samuel Smith, however, did not come to Bradford, his place being taken by William Dufton, whose name is put down in the Minutes for Staffordshire.

In the absence of a third preacher's name from the Bradford Stewards' Accounts from 1776 to 1784, we are led to infer that Thomas Lee, John Murlin, Thomas Brisco, James Hindmarsh,²

1. Can these initials mean John Whitley, in whose house Samuel Smith inscribed a window pane? (See our last *Part*). Had Wesley been urging him to preach, a year earlier than even 1776?—H.J.F.

2. See *infra* pp. 66, 67.

John Floyd, Joseph Benson, and Thomas Taylor, were stationed at Yeadon and paid by the society there: another instance of two separate quarter boards in one nominal circuit.

[THE LATE] CHARLES A. FEDERER.

PASCAL AND THE WESLEYS.

In July, 1711, after the Rector of Epworth had returned from Convocation, an article by Budgell appeared in *The Spectator* (No. 116) in which was a paragraph on Pascal, curiously, though not irrelevantly, introduced into one of the sketches of Sir Roger de Coverley. Pascal was too austere to please Eustace Budgell, though he calls him 'an incomparable person,' but the quotation suggests, at least, that the English essayists were reading either in the original or in the two translations, the *Thoughts* of "the matchless intellect of his time, the great geometer, the great physicist, the great mechanist, master too of the keenest satire and the most unapproachable felicity of language."¹

Pascal died in 1662, at the age of thirty-nine. In 1670 the *Pensées* were published, with an introduction by Étienne Périer, Pascal's nephew. In later editions the *Life* by Mme. Périer appeared. I have an edition printed at Amsterdam, 1765, which includes the Preface, the *Life*, and a defence of Pascal against Voltaire's critique of 1734—referred to by John Wesley. M. Faugère's restored text was published in 1844, but for the literary history of the *Pensées*, a reference to M. Emile Boutroux's fascinating volume (trans. E. M. Creak: 1902) must here suffice.

Turning to the translations: in 1688, J. Tonson published *M. Pascal's Thoughts . . . done into English by Joseph Walker . . . dedicated to the Hon. Robt. Boyle*. Professor Augustin Leger has kindly examined the copy in the British Museum, and tells me that the translation "is clumsy and sometimes altogether mistaken." In 1704, Churchill and Tonson published Basil Kennet's translation, which appears to have been independent of Walker's. A copy of Kennet was probably in Samuel Wesley's

1. Dean Church, *Lecture on Pascal*, 1876.

library at Epworth, for there is good evidence that it was read and quoted by his wife. The Rector was an enthusiastic admirer of Pascal, as his *Letter to a Curate* shows. Like other churchmen of the early 18th century, he was a stout Protestant, whose hostility to the Roman Catholic church was only mitigated by one influence—admiration for Pascal, Fenelon and Bossuet.² At this period, Pascal, notwithstanding his mediævalism, and the submission he acknowledged to be due to the Papal See, not only fascinated thoughtful readers by his style, and won their hearts by the simple integrity of his character and his love of truth, but delighted Englishmen generally by the vigour of his attack, which, as leader of the Jansenists, he made upon the Jesuits. In the literary circle in which Samuel Wesley moved, Pascal was gaining influence, and becoming known, through the translations, to other readers. A second edition of Kennet's translation was published in 1727, and I have the fine third edition, printed for Pemberton, London, 1731, and another published in Edinburgh in 1751—two years before John Wesley's—with quotations from *The Spectator*, referred to above, upon the title pages. Samuel Wesley found "Messieurs de Port Royal³ and Pascal worthy of their characters; he has indeed most surprising thoughts, and it is enough to melt a mountain of ice to read him."⁴

Susanna Wesley, as we have observed, read Kennet's translation,⁵ though, according to Dr. Clarke, she had sufficient knowledge of French to have read the original, had it been accessible to her. It was a hundred and twenty years before an attempt was to be made to restore the text of the *Pensées*, but though, as Vinet says, in a *literary* sense the Pascal of the early editors is not the true and complete Pascal, yet as regards *thought*, and as far as

2. Overton—*English Church in 18th Century*, i, 155, 351, 568.

3. Samuel Wesley was acquainted with the fact that, as M. Boutroux says, "Port Royal came to be identified with a particular school of thought and a particular ideal of life, and its members came to be habitually thought and spoken of collectively as *Les Messieurs de Port Royal*," . . . "These religious ascetics were, as regards things human, the apostles of reason. They appreciated the philosophy of Descartes, being in sympathy with its reserve in matters of religion, and its purely rational method in matters of science. So also in style they aimed above all at clearness, simplicity, the subordination of the form to the subject. They had more gravity and force than picturesqueness and variety." Was not this "style" also adopted by John Wesley?

4. Jackson's *Charles Wesley*, vol. ii, p 520.

5. A comparison of Walker, Kennet, and Mrs. Wesley's quotations proves this beyond doubt.

they went, they presented a true Pascal,⁶ and this may be said of Kennet's translation, in spite of its faults.

Susanna Wesley was profoundly influenced by Pascal's *Thoughts* on the place of reason in religion. She read: "If we bring down all things to reason, our religion will have nothing in it mysterious or supernatural. If we stifle the principles of reason, our religion will be absurd and ridiculous." So she writes in her *Conference with her daughter*:⁷ "If we would act reasonably, we shall neither stifle the principles of reason, nor build too much upon them, for by doing the first we make our religion childish and ridiculous, and by the other we exclude all supernatural assistance and mysterious truths from it, and thereby cut off all hope of salvation by Jesus Christ, as M. Pascal has well showed."

Pascal had written: "The last process of reason is to recognise that there is an infinity of things which transcend it; it is but weak if it does not go so far as to know that. And if natural things transcend it, what shall we say of the supernatural?" Mrs. Wesley reflects, "We know but little of our own nature; how, then, shall we presume to think of His, who created all things, who infinitely transcends our most sublime apprehensions, who dwells in inaccessible light to which no man can approach? . . . Though reason is of itself too weak and insufficient to direct us the way that leads to eternal life, yet, when enlightened and directed by God's Holy Spirit, it is of admirable use to strengthen our faith. Those are alike to blame who either indulge or despise it. A little learning and study will serve to convince us that there are innumerable things that surpass the force of human understanding."

Mrs. Wesley not only quotes Pascal in her letters and writings, but she passes his thoughts through the mint of her own mind, and the spirit of them pervades her meditations and her "*Conference*." To think the thoughts of Pascal after him was no mean attainment. She used Pascal much as Coleridge in his *Aids to Reflection* used Leighton, but she has more to say than either Pascal or Coleridge on "The knowledge which is an effect of reason acting by the influence and direction of the Holy Spirit." Her doctrine of the Holy Spirit irradiates her theology, meditations, and speculations with the light of evangelical optimism. There was a sceptical Susanna much in sympathy with a sceptical Pascal, and like him she discovered, "The heart

6. Vinet: *Studies in Pascal*, Clark, 1859, p. 292.

7. Published by W.H.S., 1898. See also Clarke's *Wesley Family*, vol ii.

has its own reasons, of which the reason knows nothing."

It would be possible to show that Mrs. Wesley owed many more of her ideas to Pascal, especially those relating to, (1) the proof of moral truths by moral arguments, (2) the use of the will and understanding in the search for truth, (3) natural and revealed religion, (4) the greatness and the littleness of man, (5) the mediatorial office of Christ, (6) the unearthly greatness of charity. Dean Church notes Pascal's "clear, downright seriousness, and the startling boldness with which he faces the real facts of life and religion," and these were characteristics of Susanna Wesley, as well as of her son John, whom she so deeply influenced. Her reflective, sober—though not sombre—piety had its rare seasons of holy joy, and mystical ecstasy. But her predominant sobriety does not commend itself to some modern types of mind, as incapable of appreciating such sobriety as Budgell was incapable of understanding the austerity of Pascal. But, as Pascal says, "We look at things not only from other sides, but with other eyes, and care not to find them alike."⁸

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

[To be continued, with notes on John Wesley and Pascal.]

METHODISM IN ALNWICK.

FROM 1744 TO 1791.

The first preacher who visited Alnwick seems to have been John Trembath. Davison's *History of Alnwick* says that his first sermon was preached in the open-air, at the foot of Clayport Street. Tate's *History* says that he thenceforward preached every fortnight, standing on a horse-block in front of the old thatched public-house at the bottom of the Market Place. James Everett, who was a native of Alnwick, and left some MS. notes of the early history of Methodism in the town, adds that the house was kept by William Allen, and that Trembath lodged there, preaching in front to large congregations gathered on the rising ground opposite. In

8. C. Kegan Paul's transl. of Molinier's text, 1905, p. 32.

the intervals he itinerated in the country around, with the result that a few persons were brought together in Alnwick for prayer and religious conversation, and for their accommodation two rooms were taken in a house on the north side of the Market Place, afterwards occupied by Mr. T. Dand. The two rooms were thrown into one, and here services were held for some four or five years.

Charles Wesley is said to have preached in Alnwick towards the close of 1746. He was visiting, at his brother's desire, the societies in the north, encouraging the new converts and extending the work. At the parish church on the Sunday morning he heard a bitter denunciation of the Methodists, from the text "Beware of false prophets, &c." When the service was over, Charles Wesley took his stand upon a tombstone, and announced that he would preach from the concluding words of the text of the morning: "By their fruits ye shall know them." Many of his hearers from that time attended the ministry of the Methodists.

His brother John visited Alnwick thirty-two times. Many of the notices in the Journals are simply records of a visit; but, in others, points of interest offer themselves for elucidation. On the first occasion, 19 July, 1748, he took his stand at the Cross, and at each succeeding visit of that year he speaks of a growing interest and a deepening work of grace. The memoir of Edward Stanley, by his son, the first Jacob Stanley (*W.M. Mag.*, 1826, pp. 794-809) supplies a good many interesting touches to the story of Methodism in his native place. Mr. William Bowmaker was one of those who had felt the power of the truth about this time. A brother of his, who had been converted at Sunderland, met with acutely put objections and unexpectedly strong opposition from William; but his witness was not in vain, and at one of Wesley's visits this year, William and his wife came under conviction of sin, and joined the growing society. Of the Bowmaker family more will be said in the sequel.

Somewhere about 1749 the society removed to a house in Bondgate, a little to the southwards of the Corn Exchange, rented from one Thomas Grumble. The rooms were reached by a flight of stone steps from the outside, and here the services were held for about two years.

Whitefield visited Alnwick in 1750, taking his stand on the north side of Bondgate, opposite the house of Michael Paterson. A vast assemblage gathered around him, and on the hillside before him; and his powerful voice was heard as far as even the Bow

Alley. His visit awakened and deepened the religious feeling of the town. A visit from him in 1752 is also recorded. Christopher Hopper, whilst stationed at Newcastle in 1751, accompanied Wesley to Alnwick, where, under stress of weather, the visitors and their congregation occupied the Town Hall, which had been procured by some of the Alnwick Methodists. Wesley wrote to John Downes also, directing him to visit Alnwick from time to time. Downes had adopted the method of talking with each person in the Society apart. "I hear," says Wesley, "this has been greatly blessed." He adds, "I do not see how you could have dealt more favourably with T.G. [Thomas Grumble above mentioned]. If he will leave the Society, he must leave it. But if he does, you are clear." The year 1753 saw a more formal organization of the work in and around Newcastle, and the first formal appointment of preachers to the Circuit was made. Wesley records, under 4 May, "the first general Quarterly Meeting of all the stewards round about Newcastle."

Wesley refers under 25 April, 1753 to the odd method of taking up their civic freedom imposed upon the young fellows who had finished their apprenticeship. They walked through a bog specially preserved for this purpose. This compulsory ceremony is traced to an order of King John, who, when hunting in the neighbourhood, was set fast in a bog. On learning that the land belonged to the freemen of Alnwick, he declared that everyone who in future should be constituted a freeman of the town, should pass through the self same bog. On the following day, 26 April, Wesley notes a harassing discussion upon Calvinism, which had troubled the Society, and had resulted in a secession. Tate's *History* supplies the name of one of the seceders: "George Gordon introduced division, embraced Calvinism, and left the Society. But, before he died, he returned to Methodism." Tyerman (*Wesley*, ii, 166) gives the name of Jenny Keith, once Wesley's housekeeper at the Orphan House, Newcastle-on-Tyne, as one of "a few violent Presbyterians" who occasioned this secession. Of her Wesley, writing to John Downes, 28 Nov., 1751, says: "I know not what to do more for poor Jenny Keith. Alas! from what a height is she fallen! What a burning and shining light was she six or seven years ago! But thus it ever was. Many of the first shall be last, and many of the last first." This implies no moral defect, and, in fact, after leaving the Orphan House, she became the wife of James Bowmaker, of Alnwick. He was amongst the early converts, along with William Hindmarsh, one of an old race of tanners, James Hindmarsh, Thomas Gibson,

George Vardy, and Robert Rand. Everett in his MS. notes adds the names of William Bowmaker, a cousin of James, Thomas Fenwick, Mark Fenwick, Mrs. Dand, Mrs. Cutty, John Stanley, Mrs. James Swan, of Denwick, Ellen Bowmaker, John Marshall, a dyer, William Crommie, George Gordon, above mentioned, and Thomas Taylor.

James Bowmaker was a master bricklayer and builder. When he identified himself with Alnwick Methodism, it needed courage to do so. After Jenny Keith's death, he married Margaret Milburn, daughter of Robert Milburn, of the Forth Farm, bailiff of the Duke of Northumberland. One of the daughters of this second marriage became the mother of James Everett. Bowmaker is said to have been of a meek and quiet spirit, never seen in a passion. It was his custom, when the children quarrelled, to put one out at the back door, and another at the front, until peace was restored.

Thomas Gibson, a baker, was a class leader and local preacher, eccentric in his notions, and hasty in temper, but of the strictest morality. His plain drab cloth, his large bush wig, his three-cornered hat, made him a conspicuous figure. He was quaint in speech, until what was intended for edification rather provoked amusement. In one sermon he exclaimed: "My brethren, what a useful animal the sheep is; its flesh feeds us; its wool 'cleads' us; the horns of its head make buttons for our coats; and the very shank bones *make snuff mulls!*"

George Vardy, a schoolmaster, was also an aspirant after pulpit honours, and on one occasion expressed his wish to Whitefield; who replied that "the wish was indicative of his unfitness for the office; that he was inflated with pride, and ought to be satisfied to be kicked about like a football!" He died in 1769.

Robert Rand was a very zealous Methodist. During the races, he would stand at the door of his house and warn the people of their danger as they went up Clayport to the racecourse.

James Hindmarsh is a name of wider note. He was unstable as an early member of the Society. Burning zeal marked the commencement of his career; but, cooling down, he entered upon the tenancy of the Castle Inn, at Alnwick, and afterwards of an inn at Dunbar, but he failed in both. In his misfortunes he returned to Alnwick, and was readmitted into the Society. Wesley was satisfied with his restoration to God and to His people, and in 1766 appointed him to be the writing master at Kingswood School, his wife acting as housekeeper. Here he remained about five years. Letters of his will be found in

Wesley's *Journal*, 5 May, 1768 and 26 September, 1770, describing two of the remarkable, if evanescent, revivals amongst the boys of the school. Robert Hindmarsh, his son, was one of these. He left the school in 1773, and for a while remained in Methodism. But after a short period spent as a printer in Clerkenwell, he joined the Swedenborgians, and was the first to organise them into a distinct body in England, having a charge in Salford. He was the author of *The Birth of Immanuel, Reflections on the Unitarian and Trinitarian Doctrines, Rise and Progress of the New Church*, etc. He died in 1835 [See *Dict. N. Biog.*, sub *nom.*; also *Proc.* vi, p 89]. His sister, Elizabeth Hindmarsh, came to Kingswood in an illness, and died there in 1777, aged 21. Mr. Bayley, then one of the masters, wrote an account of her death, which was published by Wesley in 1777 [Green, *Bibliog.*, No. 323]. James Hindmarsh himself entered the ministry in 1771, and travelled till 1783, when he united himself with the Swedenborgians. [See *supra* p. 59.]

Everett reports that "persecution was not violent in Alnwick; the worst was that of the tongue. People sported with character and religion, expending their wit and malevolence to render the Methodists ridiculous. They laughed at religion rather than took up the hand against it. On one occasion, however, when a soldier attempted to preach at the Market Cross, the mob prevented him, and became so violent that he had to run through the Town Hall into the Griffin's [now the Nag's] Head, down the garden, and thus made his escape."

Whitefield visited Alnwick in 1753, and Wesley once more on 26 May, 1755. The "new room" of which he speaks, was the first chapel built by the Methodists in Alnwick. It was situated in the Green Bat, at the corner of Correction House Lane, on the site now occupied by the Court House for meetings of the Petty Sessions and County Courts. It was of brick, square and of no great height, and of the plainest style of architecture. James Bowmaker was the builder.

Edward Stanley, whose full biography, by his son, the first Jacob Stanley, president of the Conference in 1845, has been mentioned earlier in this paper, was for many years a pillar of strength to the Society in Alnwick, of which place he was a native, being born in 1737. His earliest religious impressions were received under a sermon by John Trembath in the Market Place; but these passed away, and not until he was advancing towards manhood did he find clearly an interest in Christ, and commence his long career of witness and work for his Divine

Master. He began to preach about the year 1757, making his first attempt at Berwick, when on a visit to his sister, and under the sermon a backslider was recovered. With this encouragement, he preached not only on the Lord's Day, but on week days also, in towns and villages as the way seemed to be opened by God. In many cases he was the first Methodist preacher the people had ever seen, or from whom they heard the word of salvation. He experienced his full share of the vicissitudes of a local preacher's lot in those days; but he was never known to disappoint a congregation, unless waters were unfordable or roads absolutely impassable.

Wesley was in Alnwick on 11 and 12 June, 1757. "O what a difference there is between these living stones, and the dead unfeeling multitude in Scotland!"

The Newcastle Circuit in 1758, when Alexander Mather was stationed there, "reached as far as Musselborough," and Thomas Rankin, who was then a young man at Dunbar, says: "In September I set off for Berwick, and from thence to Alnwick and Newcastle. I was greatly pleased with all I saw and heard, whether in public or with private individuals. Now it was that I saw Methodism in its beauty, as it respected its doctrines and discipline, as well as the Divine Power that attended the word of God preached." [*E.M.P.*, V, 159]. Christopher Hopper and Thomas Lee both give pleasant glimpses of the wide circuit, during these years. Everett, in his MS. notes, writes: "The preachers preached in Newcastle (on Sunday) at 5 a.m.; preached at Morpeth, or some of the intermediate places, and then at Alnwick (34 miles) in the evening. [Monday] Preached at Alnwick in the morning at 5 o'clock, and at Berwick (30 miles) in the evening. Preached at Berwick at 5 on Tuesday morning, and at Dunbar (between 20 and 30 miles) in the evening. Returned to Newcastle in the reverse order of these places."

Whitefield visited Alnwick for the last time, in the Autumn of 1758. "It shocks me" he wrote to his friend Rev. Dr. Gillies, of Glasgow, "to think of winter quarters yet. How soon does the year work round! Lord Jesus, quicken my tardy pace." Two visits of Wesley in the summer of 1759 are recorded in his Journal.

Wesley's visit of May, 1761 was prolonged beyond ordinary, and he records excursions to Warkworth,—where the well-known curious rock-hewn hermitage, as well as the remains of the castle, greatly interested him,—and to Alemouth, during his stay. The town was full of soldiers "on their way to Germany." A young

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and beautiful wife, whose husband had "wandered out of the way," accompanied Wesley in the post-chaise to Warkworth, and poured out her spiritual troubles to this experienced counsellor of all such perplexed souls. It would be of great interest to identify Wesley's companion on this occasion. Nothing special attaches itself to Wesley's next visits, 31 May, 1763, and 21 May, 1764. But that of 22 April, 1765, is connected with the names of two of the inner circle of his personal friendships. He was driven over from Newcastle in their post chaise by M.L. and M.D., i.e., Margaret Lewen and her niece, Margaret Dale. The friendship with the first was all too brief. Her name first occurs under date 20 March, 1765. "M. Lewen took me in a post-chaise to Derby [from Birmingham]." On 18 April following, at Durham, she introduced Wesley to her father, who thanked Wesley for all the good his spiritual assistance had done to his daughter, "more than all the physicians could do." She was wealthy, and gave Wesley in the following summer a chaise and a pair of horses. [Letter to C.W., 9 July, 1766, *Works*, xii, 121]. The indomitable traveller had hitherto ridden on horseback, but Miss Lewen's kindness inaugurated an easier mode of travelling for the eager evangelist. She went, at her father's desire, to London for the winter. On 31 October, 1766, Wesley hastened to Leytonstone to see her; she had been residing there with Mary Bosanquet. But he was too late. "Miss Lewen died the day before [30 October], after an illness of five days." Her will was, as he tells Hopper, "a nine days wonder." [*Works*, xii, 292]. She left legacies to Miss Bosanquet and Wesley and to Whitefield. [For all this see Henry Moore's *Life of Mrs. Fletcher*, part ii].

J. H BROADBENT.

[TO BE CONTINUED].

NOTES AND QUERIES.

413. 28 MAY, 1738, in the *Journals* of J.W. and C.W.—C.W. says: "In the afternoon my brother came, and after a short prayer for success upon our ministry, set out for Tiverton."

J.W. on the 29th was at Dummer, but was in London again on June 3rd. Did he get no further than Dummer, the cure of his friend Kinchin? Curiously, on 28 February of this year, J.W. had set out for Tiverton, but turned aside,—it would seem—to Oxford, proceeding thence to Manchester.

414. WILLIAM MANUEL (*Journal*, 10 July, 1757). — Wesley's preacher who lived at Robin Hood's Bay and was pressed for a soldier. In the hands of a local solicitor is the official document drawn up by the officer who received him, as follows :—

18th Dec., 1756.

I acknowledge to have received from the hands of the Commissioners of the Land Tax for the liberty of Whitby Strand in the North Riding of Yorkshire, who are likewise Commissioners for putting in execution an Act instituted for the speedy and effectual recruiting of His Majesty's Land Forces and Marines, John Gilbert, William Petts, and James Plane alias Daniel, who were pressed by the Constables according to the directions of the said Act, I say received by me the day and year above.—ISA. ANTROBUS. Lieut. in Major General Borland's 11th Reg. of Foot.

24th December, 1756.

I acknowledge to have received this day from the hands of the above Commissioners the persons hereinafter mentioned, that is to say William Thompson and William Manuel, pursuant to the directions of the above mentioned Act. Witness my hand the day and year above.—ISA. ANTROBUS.—*Rev. John W. Seller.*

Atmore's account of the early impressment of William Thompson, the future president [*Memorial*, 418-19] makes it certain that he is the man named with Manuel. If we may suppose that he, like Manuel, had begun to "travel," the date of his entrance into the work is at least a year earlier than is usually stated. There are no printed *Minutes* of 1756. His brief obituary in *Min.*, 1799, only says that he had travelled "above forty years." Pawson's list of preachers and their dates of entry on the work (1795) seems to be the authority for 1757. (It is reprinted in *facsimile* in *Hill's Arrangement* for 1895).—*H.J.F.*

415. THE GREAT FLOOD AT HAYFIELD (*Journal*, 30, Aug., 1748). —Mr. L. Garside, of Hayfield, gives the following extract from the diary of Rev. James Clegg, M.D., minister of Chinley

Independent Chapel from 1679 to 1755 :

"July 23rd, 1748. We had a violent storm of loud thunder and lightning, attended and followed by y^e most heavy rain I ever saw, for about two hours, which raised the waters to a vast height, and in a little time it did incredible damage." Mr. Garside adds : "The Phoside hill, from which the Phoside stream rises, lies midway between Chinley and Hayfield. It was this stream which washed the bodies out of their graves in Hayfield Churchyard." He also says that a new tower was built to the old church of Hayfield in 1793, and in 1818 a new church was built to this tower. The floods had often rushed through the old church ; the floor of the new one was therefore lifted several feet higher, leaving the old floor to be that of a low crypt. The floor of the upper church rests upon the shortened nave pillars of the old.

416. WESLEY'S SPECTACLES.—Miss Laughher, of Marske, daughter of the late Rev. Henry Laughher, thus describes a Wesley relic in her possession. "You will be aware that Wesley, some years before his death, obtained second sight. He then gave the glasses he wore to Mrs. H. A. Rogers, remarking that he 'had no further need of them.' After Mrs. Rogers died, Mr. Rogers married again, and went to reside at Guisborough, and when my father was appointed to that circuit there was still living an old servant of Mrs. Rogers', who had these glasses in her possession and presented them to my father."

417. (a) *Journal*, 10 Feb., 1774.—"That affectionate man, Mr. P., ——— at Chelsea." Who is this? Musgrave's *Obituary*, gives : "Price, Griffith, Esq., Chelsea, counsellor (G.M., 1780, p. 51.)" Can these be connected ; or can anything be found, to elucidate the *Journal* entry? A Wm. Price entered the ministry in 1772. For whom see *W.M.M.*, 1861, p. 52.

(b) *Journal*, 16 Dec., 1755.—"I set out for Lewisham ; appointing one to meet me with my horse at the stones end." This should be printed "Stones End ;" it is a proper name. It was near the Marshalsea, in the Borough. In my *Paterson's Roads* for 1800, the miles on the Portsmouth Road are "measured from the Stones-end in the Borough." Lewis' *Topogr. Dict.* speaks of an old Court of Requests in Trinity Street, Stones End, Borough. A little further knowledge would be acceptable. Obviously it is near St. George's Church, Southwark. Did the stone paving of the road

out of London at one time cease there?—*H.J.F.*

418. MRS. DORNFORD (*Journal*, 17 Jan., 1790).—Mr. James Freeman writes, 'She was wife of an eminent wine merchant, who kept his chariot. The corpse was brought into the chapel [i.e., City Road] and afterwards, on its being taken out, Mr. Wesley walked before it in his white surplice, to the burying place, adjoining the Artillery Ground [i.e., in Bunhill Fields], where he read the service, and then gave out, "To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, &c."—*Rev. C. H. Crookshank, M.A.*

419. Some time ago I bought the *Life of the Rev. John William Fletcher, late vicar of Madeley, Shropshire, by the Rev. Robert Cox, A.M., Perpetual Curate of St. Leonards, Bridgnorth*. This brief work was dedicated to Dr. Hawley, Bishop of London, and was printed by J. Butterworth & Son, Fleet Street, in 1822. Is it well known to experts in Methodist bibliography? It contains a very pleasing portrait of Fletcher.—*Rev. R. Butterworth.*

420. QUOTATION.

Journal, II, 168

Nov. 8, 1749.

Proc., V, 115,

VII, 35.

But death had swifter wings than love.

Mr. W. C. Sheldon points out that in the brief notice of the death of Joshua Keighley, *Min.*, 1788, Wesley gives the couplet from his brother's translation of the epigram :

About the marriage-state to prove

But death had swifter wings than love.

but again substituting "swifter" for "quicker" in the original. It is "from the Greek" of Gregory Nazianzen, who wrote several, on Euphemius, the son of his friend Amphilochus of Iconium. (H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, p. 49). [H.J.F.]

421. MINISTERS IN WESLEY'S JOURNAL, 28 March, 1743.—

"I was astonished to find it was real fact (what I would not believe before) that three of the Dissenting Ministers (Mr. A——rs, Mr. A——ns, and Mr. B——) had agreed together to exclude all those from the holy communion, who would not refrain from hearing us, &c.

I have gone into the identification with the Chief Librarian of Newcastle, and think that there is little doubt but that the three ministers to whom Wesley refers are: Rev. William Arthur, Scotch Presbyterian, 1715-59; Rev. Edward Aitkin, Scotch Relief, Castle Garth Meeting House, 1736-1762; Rev. George Bruce, M.A., minister of a Presbyterian Church in Sandgate. The last-named preached a sermon at a meeting of ministers in Newcastle, 3 Aug., 1743.—*J. Conder Natrass.*





Photographs kindly lent by

Mr. Arthur Mounford, Warrington.

**THE COTTAGE OF JOHN AND ALICE CROSS,
BOOTHBANK, CHESHIRE.**

(See article :—"Quarterly Meetings.")

"MRS. W——."

(1) Letters, Mrs. W—— to J. W., *Arm. Mag.*, 1781 ; dated 18, 23, 30 April, 2 May, 30 July, 1761.

(2) J. W., *Journal*, 14 Sep, 1763 ; 17, 18, 19 Sep. ; 1 Oct., 1764.

(3) Letter, J. W. to Miss T., *Works*, xii, 243 ; Bristol, 29 Sep., 1764.

If the above-noted letters and entries in the *Journal* are read in the order of their dates there will be given to us, by her self-revelation, and by Wesley's not unkindly descriptive criticisms, a living character-portrait of "Mrs. W——," whom I should be glad to identify.

On 17 Sep., 1764, Wesley rode over from Bath to "Combe-Grove, a house built in a large grove on the side of a high, steep hill." The house, which is still standing, overlooks the village of Monckton Combe, and is just under Combe Down, all well-known localities in the neighbourhood of Bath.¹ "I found," he says, "Mrs. W——the same still, with regard to her liveliness, but not her wildness ; in this she was much altered." He preached to "a small, serious congregation," such, we may presume, as one of the large rooms of the house, or the hall, would hold. "Afterwards we all spent an hour in singing and in serious conversation. The fire kindled more and more, till Mrs. W——asked if I would give her leave to pray. Such a prayer I never heard before. It was perfectly an original ; odd and unconnected, made up of disjointed fragments, and yet like a flame of fire. Every sentence went through my heart, and I believe the heart of everyone present. For many months I have found nothing like it. It was good for me to be there." He remained at Combe Grove for the night, and "preached again in the court-yard at 7 [a.m.], and it was now that one of the servants, who was in tears the night before, was thoroughly convinced that God had blotted out her sins." The preacher left Combe Grove in the course of the morning, and "preached at Freshford at

1. An illustration of Combe Grove was given in *Meth. Rec.*, Winter Number, 1907, p. 57.

noon." From Freshford and Bradford-on-Avon he was back again at Combe Grove on the Wednesday, preaching there at 9 a.m., after a service at Bradford at 5-o a.m. "I found again that God was" at Combe Grove. And then he pauses in his succinct narrative to characterise Mrs. W——, for of course it is she. "Is not this an instance of ten thousand of God's choosing the foolish things of the world to confound the wise?—Here is one that has not only a weak natural understanding, but an impetuosity of temper, bordering upon madness; and hence both her sentiments are confused, and her expressions odd and indigested; and yet, notwithstanding this, more of the real power of God attended these uncouth expressions than the sensible discourses of even good men who have twenty-times her understanding. Thus have I many times known God to attach his power to the words of extremely weak men. The humble overlooked the weakness of the men, and rejoiced in the power of God. But all his power is unacknowledged, unfelt, by those who stumble at the weakness of the instrument." The whole record is an interesting revelation of the man Wesley, as really as of the lady of whom he writes.

"I found Mrs. W—— the same still," he says, "but in her wildness . . . she is much altered." The words of comparison lead us backward to the previous year, 1763. On 14 September he is at Bath. After preaching, in Avon Street, as I suppose, he says, "I was not a little refreshed by the conversation of one lately come from London, notwithstanding an irregularity of thought, almost peculiar to herself. How much preferable is her irregular warmth to the cold wisdom of them that despise her? How gladly would I be as she is, taking her wildness and fervour together!" No name or initial is given, but we need not hesitate in identifying the visitor to Bath in 1763 with Mrs. W—— of the following year. The character-portrait belongs to the same remarkable personality.

He remained in Bristol until Monday, 1 October, 1764, and on his way towards Bradford-on-Avon, for Devizes and London, he gave another sermon at Combe Grove "to a small congregation of earnest, simple people," Mrs. W——, her household and neighbours, as we may conjecture. But whilst still in Bristol he had written on the Saturday, 29 Sep., to his correspondent Miss T——, a letter in which he incidentally describes Mrs. W—— to her, and the lines of the portraiture are those of the paragraphs we have been studying. "Have this faith and you have salvation. And this is the very thing you want. When that is joined to a

strong understanding, it is well : But it may exist with a very weak one. This is the case with Mrs. W——, whose understanding is extremely weak ; and yet she has strong faith, and such as exceedingly profits me ; though I take knowledge that the treasure is in an earthen vessel. I see all that is of nature ; but this does not hinder my rejoicing in that which is of grace. This is one branch of Christian simplicity." So far we may feel that we tread upon sure ground in our study of this lady.²

Further, a most important contribution to our knowledge of Mrs. W—— is made by herself in a series of religious letters to Wesley, written in 1761, at the dates noted at the head of this paper, and printed by Wesley in the *Arminian Magazine* of 1781. These are too long to reprint in full here, but they most convincingly agree with all the characterizations of her by Wesley. Moreover, they are full of *personalia* of great interest, which seem as though they ought to put into our hands many clues to her identification. She has, I think, two sons,—unmarried,—and two daughters, Jenny and Harriot. Their home is apparently not in, but near, London. A son came from town to see her. One day when Jenny went to town, Mr. Guilford, the preacher, came to see her. "Lately,"—she is writing on 2 May,—the writer "was called to London," to see her mother ; she prayed with her ; her mother was "justified." She herself, as the same letter informs Wesley, "was thought to be slipping away into eternity last week." Harriot, in her mother's judgment, is "a wonderful example of what God can do in a child." Mrs. W—— is looking for a boarding school for her (younger?) boy. Mr. Morgan³ thinks that Mr. Neal is "proper to board her son with." She accordingly takes a carriage, it is not expressly said where, but an accident happens to the carriage at Henley. Many are blessed under her prayers, and under her roof. At one of these domestic meetings, "three were justified in fifteen minutes."

2. Compare another piece of self-revelation, which draws our heart very close to Wesley. It is a little earlier than Mrs. W.'s letters to him. "Sat., 16, [Feb., 1760] I spent an hour in the evening with a little company at J. W——'s. I have not known so solemn an hour for a long season, nor so profitable to my own soul. Mysterious Providence ! Why am I cut off from those opportunities which of all others I most want ? Especially considering the benefit I might impart, as well as that which I might receive ; seeing they stand as much in need of *light* as I do of *heat*." He knows his want, but he knows his strength !

3. No doubt James Morgan, the preacher, who was appointed to London in 1758, and is, I think, still in London, in December, 1761. (See letter printed in *Journal* under 4 February, 1763.)

Betty, her maid,—we recall the maid servant at Combe Grove,—“wants to be led through Jordan, too.” On one occasion Edward Perronet and Bryan I'anson call to see her. Her experience stirs up Perronet, who questions her closely as to what is the blessing she has found. We know the type of Christian very well. It is unhappily not unknown to our experience of such temperaments, that Wesley should need to add to the series of Mrs. W——'s letters this note: “I can no more doubt of her really experiencing what she then wrote, than I can doubt of her vilely casting it away.”

On that last touch of comment I can throw no light. Still on the whole it has thus far been pretty plain sailing. But I cannot, after long searching and waiting for light, get much further. It will be remembered that on 14 Sep., 1763, she had “lately come from London.” On two occasions, once alone, and a second time in association with my friend Mr. G. B. Caple, of Bath, an early member of our W.H.S.,—I searched the Bath newspapers of 1763, hoping to find amongst the *Arrivals* in the months of August and September some name of a lady visitor beginning with the initial W, which moreover might perchance be found amongst the visitors of 1764 in the same months, or within any reasonably near, but earlier, part of the summer. If I could find a “W” lady visitor at or about these dates in both 1763 and 1764, I hoped it might be at the least a fact to be tried by other methods of enquiry, if in itself hardly more than a very slenderly supported conjecture. I did in fact find amongst the *Arrivals* of “Sep. 15th, 1763, Mrs. Wright, Miss Wright,”—which looked promising. In the *Arrivals* of 1764, but earlier in the year, “May 10, Mrs. Wright” appears. So far as Mr. Caple and myself could see, of the many names beginning with W, only “Wright” and “Miss Wright” were common to the lists of both years. It is not much in the way of evidence, of course.

I turned also to Lady Llanover's volumes of Mrs. Delany's letters, and, guided by the full Index, sought for a Mrs. Wright who should be a resident or visitor in Bath. Mrs. Delany on 23 Oct., 1760,—a year earlier than Mrs. W——'s letters,—calls upon Lady Cox,⁴ and on Mrs. Wright. It did not occur to me

4. Lady Llanover, iii, 607. A not altogether unkindly, and yet a little “superior” criticism of Lady Cox's religion by Mrs. Delany (ii, 19, letter of 22 Dec., 1738) makes it pretty certain that this is the widow of Sir Richard Cox, of Dumbleton, co. Glos., bart., an early convert of Whitefield's at Bath. (*C. of H.*, i, 52), and, in the early days of the Revival, a friend of the Wesleys, especially of Charles.

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to search the *Arrivals* at Bath for 1760. Capt. Hill, the late occupier of Combe Grove, could tell me nothing as to its earlier owners or tenants. Nor did Mr. Caple or I find any piece of news in the Bath *Chronicle* which by chance might have told us whether Mrs. Wright lived at Combe Grove. All the facts above examined suggest to me that Mrs. W——was resident there, perhaps merely for the season. She seems to be mistress of the house and its arrangements. She holds meetings in it; secures sermons there from Wesley; other visitors at Bath may walk out to the meeting or the sermon; she keeps Wesley overnight as her guest. I repeat that I am only setting down a few facts and many conjectures, some of which may prove to be facts, or may lead some more fortunate student of the *Journals* to the identification I cannot reach. But her tenancy of Combe Grove makes her position quite such as would belong to a friend of Mrs. Delany.

I have searched the Wright obituaries in Sir William Musgrave's catalogue. There are not a few Mrs. Wrights. Two of them died in advanced years at Cheshunt, where one of them at least kept a ladies' school. The older lady, who died in 1781, aged 95 years, is "Wright (Mrs.) Mary, a widow lady, late of Cheshunt, Herts."⁵ There may really be nothing to our purpose in this piece of information.

I confess I should look more hopefully at a Mrs. Wright whom Charles Wesley mentions in a sentence of his letter to his wife, numbered by Jackson xxxix. Its date is only "July 29." No year is given, as was often Charles' way. But Mr. Telford suggests 1759. He had preached and had administered the Lord's Supper at West Street, and continues: "Mrs. Venn I carried to dinner at Mrs. Wright's. She has stood her ground against the whole religious world, and her husband at their head; neither can she yet give up her love, her special love, for the Methodist people and Ministers. . . . I trust to find her again in that day, among the children whom God hath given us. Doubting my strength, and fearing of a relapse I got a Preacher to supply my place at [West Street] this afternoon, and rode with Mrs. Venn to Cheapside. There she left me. . . ."

I assume that this is Henry Venn's first wife, née Bishop,

5. I have not a copy of the *Arm. Mag.* of 1781 by me to refer to, but I believe Mrs. W—— signs one of the letters to Wesley, M.W. (Otherwise, one might look inquiringly at "J.W——'s" house and its experiences, given above, footnote 2).

married to him in May, 1757.⁶ It is generally assumed also that "Mrs. Wright" is the second wife of the husband of Mehetabel Wesley. "Hetty" had died 21 March, 1750. In another letter, undated by C. Wesley, but also assigned by Mr. Telford to 1759, and numbered in Jackson lxxx, written from Seven Dials, 15 Feb., the writer says, "I breakfasted this morning with W. Wright's poor widow and Betty Duchesne." In yet another undated letter, xviii, written from Seven Dials, Monday night, 22 Sep., given also with a few variants in Jackson's *Life of C.W.*, ii, 91, Charles Wesley tells his wife how he had been unable to sleep in his room at the West Street Chapel house, and was summoned between one and two in the morning to his dying brother-in-law, whose house was near by in Frith Street, Soho. "He told me, before his wife, how he had settled his affairs; (not enough to her advantage, I think.)" His widow was not left penniless; he had something to leave; he could have left her even better off. Whether Wright's widow could have been a visitor at Bath, and (temporary) tenant of Combe Grove, moving in Mrs. Delany's circle of friendship, I do not know. I can hardly conjecture anything. I am sorry to have nothing more complete to record in our *Proceedings*. Other workers may find the facts useful,—or useless. It may be worth setting down also that Mehetabel Wright, in 1743, wrote a letter to her brother John from Stanmore, which is not far from London. It will be found in Stevenson's *Wesley Family*, at p. 315. Why was she at Stanmore?

H. J. FOSTER.

QUARTERLY MEETINGS.

When was the first held?

The first mention in the official records of Methodism of

6. The Rev. John Telford prefers to identify "Mrs. Venn" as Henry Venn's (widowed) mother, rather than as his newly-wedded wife. In her will, proved 9 July, 1762, she is described as of Bread Street, London. (Mrs. Venn set Charles W. down from the coach "in Cheapside.") But I confess that Mrs. Venn's resolute stand for her Methodist friendships as against "her husband" and the (Church and Calvinist?) circle into which she had come, suggests to me Venn's young wife, rather than his mother, whose husband had been dead since 1739. (*Life of H. Venn*, p. 5). I ought however to say that Dr. John Venn agrees with Mr. Telford.

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this important Church Court is in the *Minutes* for 1749, where it is declared to be the business of an Assistant . . . "to hold Quarterly Meetings and therein diligently to inquire both into the temporal and spiritual state of each Society."

In the Appendix of the 1862 edition of the *Minutes* is printed a fuller copy of those for 1749. At this point there is added :

Q. But some of them know not the nature of Quarterly Meetings. How shall we help them?

"A. Desire John Bennet :

1. To send us up his plan.
2. To go himself as soon as may be to Newcastle and Wednesbury and teach them the nature and methods of these meetings."

It is remarkable that this *Minute* was passed within about six weeks after John Bennet's marriage to Grace Murray. Evidently he retained the confidence of Wesley as an administrator of Methodism.

In a long and interesting article in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1843, p. 376, Rev. W. W. Stamp refers to the tradition that Quarterly Meetings took their rise at Booth Bank in Cheshire. This he sets on one side ; and rightly so, though lasting interest attaches to the record of the Quarterly Meeting held there on 20 April, 1752.

The first page of the accounts then presented reads as follows:—*A True Account of the Money Bro^t in by the Stewards from Each Society in the Manchester Round ; for the use of the Preachers, and for y^e discharging of Necessary Expence, Aprill y^e 20, 1752.*

These accounts have often been published, more or less accurately. The above heading I copied from the old book itself, which is in the Chapel Committee's office at Manchester. In my volume on Chester Methodism (p. 35) I have set down a number of other details. I venture to think that the book ought to be published. No historian of early Methodism in the wide area covered by the original Manchester Round can afford to neglect it.

The first page is declared by the Rev. George Marsden in a letter appended thereto to be in the writing of John Wesley. Now John Wesley certainly was not at Booth Bank on the date mentioned. My theory is that the accounts had been roughly kept on a loose slip and that Wesley on his next visit started the Circuit with a proper book, and showed them how it ought to be kept.

I hazard the further suggestion that as John Bennet severed

his connection with John Wesley at the end of 1751, the extensive area to which the name of John Bennet's Round had been given was then re-organized, and that the meeting at Booth Bank was the first of a newly-formed Manchester Round.

Mr. Stamp quotes from an old Society book kept by Grimshaw of Haworth, an account of a meeting held on 18 Oct., 1748, at Major Marshall's, at Todmorden Edge . . . of the Leaders of several Classes in several religious Societies . . . etc.

Mr. Stamp considers this to be in all probability the first Quarterly Meeting ever held in Methodism. The *Journal* of John Bennet, now in possession of the Conference, which I have recently had the pleasure of perusing, removes all uncertainty. Under date 27 July, 1748, Bennet, referring to an arrangement evidently fixed in advance, writes: "The first Quarterly Meeting in Lancashire is held at Major Marshall's at Todmorden Edge on Tuesday 18th October 1748." "The first Quarterly Meeting for Cheshire is held at Robert Swindel's in Woodley on Thursday October 20th at 11 o'clock."

The former of these meetings he records, in exact agreement with the quotation from the old book above referred to, except that his list of the "Stewards chosen to transact the temporal affairs" shows a variation in the Christian names. Samuel Greenwood, John Maden, Samuel Dyson, John Parker, is Bennet's account. The book however gives *James* Dyson, *James* Greenwood, with John Maden and John Parker. That Mr. Stamp correctly transcribes the book may be assumed from the fact that Everett (*Manchester* p. 95), writing in 1827, gives the same names. One would naturally follow the book written as it was by a man on the spot. In his earlier volume on *Sheffield* (1823) Everett speaks of the first Quarterly Meeting held in Sheffield somewhere between 1756 and 1760. The paragraph is somewhat obscurely expressed, and it is not quite clear whether he thought this to be the earliest of all Quarterly Meetings; probably he was referring to Sheffield only.

These earliest Quarterly Meetings are fully described in letters which John Bennet wrote to Wesley from Chinley, 22 October, 1748 (see *Meth. Rec. Winter Number*, 1902).

"On Tuesday the 18th of this instant was a meeting (at Todmorden Edge) of the Leaders in the several Societies belonging to Wm. Darney, etc. Four stewards were appointed to inspect into, and regulate the temporal affairs of the Societies; every Leader brought his Class Paper and showed what money he had received in the Quarter, which was fairly entered in a

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book for the purpose. The several Bills of Charges were brought in at the same time, and after they were thoroughly examined were all discharged. But alas! the people are exceeding poor, and will not be able to maintain the preachers and William Darney's family. The overplus after the Bills were discharged was only 9/2."

The number of the brethren at the meeting, as appeared by the books wherein the names are entered, was 358. This must mean the number of members represented by the leaders present.

"On Thursday the 20th of this instant was our Quarterly Meeting held at Woodley of the Leaders in Derbyshire, Cheshire, and part of Lancashire. The same method was used here as above. The Lord did bless our meeting in a very extraordinary manner. After business was ended we sang a hymn, several of the brethren prayed, and I gave a short exhortation. Oh, dear Sir, let this method be used in other places. Once a year we propose to meet all the Leaders, and at the other Quarterly Meetings the Stewards in each respective Society need only to be present with the particular accounts. This way will not be very expensive. I have made a small book which shall be kept in the Box with the Accounts, wherein an exact Account of the Marriages, Deaths, Backsliders, etc., shall be noted down that I may be able to give you an account thereof each Quarter. Our number of brethren at Woodley Meeting was 527."

Quarterly Meetings a few months later are thus described :—
"Chinley, Ap. 25, 1749. The Quarterly Meeting at Todmorden Edge was on Tuesday last. We had an unanimous Meeting. Mr. Grimshaw was with us, and preached in the evening to a larger congregation than hath been seen in these parts for some time. . . . accounts brought in from the several Societies in Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Lancashire, at our Quarterly Meeting held at Woodley on Thursday last. . . ."

Dr. Gregory, in his book on Methodist Polity, pp. 48 and 49, says that Quarterly Meetings took definite shape in 1750, but their constitution was not defined till 1852. As a comment upon the latter statement, it may be of interest to some to read the following Resolution from an old Minute Book in the Chester Circuit. "1833. Resolved that the Trustees, being members of Society, and the Local Preachers, be hereafter considered members of the Quarterly Meeting on the same grounds as the Leaders have heretofore been considered members thereof."

F. F. BRETHERTON.

[Our illustrations of the house of John and Alice Cross at Booth Bank, are from original photographs lent by our member, Mr. Arthur Mounfield, of Warrington. It will be seen that the original thatch of the roof has been (of recent years) encased for preservation in a covering of corrugated iron.—F.]

THE TWELVE RULES OF A HELPER.

These Rules first appear in the *Minutes* of 1744—the first year of which we have any printed *Minutes*. After this date Wesley published six editions of the large *Minutes*, and the rules of a helper are given in each, but with frequent alterations. In several particulars they were again altered by the Conference of 1797, a few years after Wesley's death. It may possibly be interesting to some readers of this *Journal* to have these alterations pointed out. The 1812 edition is evidently inaccurate, giving under the head of 29 June, 1744, the rules as amended in 1763. I shall be guided by the 1862 edition of the *Minutes*, vol. I.

When first formulated in 1744, *thirteen* rules were given, and in 1745 another was added, making fourteen. Two of these, standing as 10 and 11, were never re-printed. They read, "Take no money of anyone. If they give you food when you are hungry, or clothes when you need them, it is good. But not silver or gold. Let there be no pretence to say, we grow rich by the gospel."—"Contract no debts without our knowledge."

The following are the most important changes made:—

RULE II. The first edition reads, "Be Serious. Let your motto be—Holiness to the Lord. *Avoid all lightness as you would avoid hell-fire; and laughing as you would cursing and swearing.*" In all subsequent editions the words in *Italic* were wisely omitted.

RULE III. At first enjoined, "Converse sparingly and cautiously with women." Then this rule was strengthened by the words, "particularly with young women in private." The last three editions dropped the words, "*in private.*"

RULE IV. Evidently there was difficulty in bringing this rule to perfection. Number (1) edition reads "take no step toward marriage without first acquainting us." (2) adds, "with your design as soon as you conveniently can." (3), (4), and (5), drop the added words. (6) and (7) add, "without consulting your

brethren." (8) further adds, "*without solemn prayer to God* and consulting with your brethren." The thought of prayer comes last !

RULE V. This rule at first read, "Believe evil of no one. If you see it done, well. If not, take heed how you credit it." Six editions then adopt this change, "Unless you see it done, take heed how you credit it." The Conference of 1797 wisely changed the reading to, "unless fully proved."

RULE VI. Has stood unchanged through all the editions.

RULE VII. In all the editions published in Wesley's life-time this rule reads, "Tell everyone what you think wrong in him and that plainly," &c. The Conference of 1797 added "lovingly" to "plainly."

RULE VIII. The first edition states, "Do nothing as a gentleman." All subsequent editions read, "Do not affect the gentleman." All editions published during the life of Wesley read, "You have no more to do with this character than with that of a dancing master." The Conference of 1797 dropped the reference to the "dancing master."

RULE IX. In all the editions published during Wesley's life this rule reads, "Be ashamed of nothing but sin : not of fetching wood (if time permit) or of drawing water ; not of cleaning your own shoes or your neighbours." Here again the Conference of 1797 makes a modification. References to fetching wood, drawing water, and cleaning one's neighbour's shoes, disappear, and we have simply the words, "No, not of cleaning your own shoes when necessary."

RULE X. No important alteration.

RULE XI. "You have nothing to do but to save souls. Therefore spend and be spent in this work and go always, not only to those who want you, but to those who want you most."

It is worthy of note that this rule was formulated twelve months after the others, but having once been given it has never since undergone the alteration of even one word. The paragraph beginning with the word "observe" is, after the first edition, placed under Rule XII.

RULE XII. The only change to be noted here is the substitution of the word "advise" for "direct."

In looking carefully over these rules we are impressed with the thought that, notwithstanding Wesley's wisdom and literary ability, he felt the need of frequently correcting or improving what he had written, and, in this case at least, of softening and toning down some of his expressions.

And it is rather amusing to find that while the words stand, "Do not mend our rules but keep them," neither he nor the Conference of 1797 (which gave us the final edition) acted up to this high ideal.

N.B. The eighth edition of the rules above referred to are found in vol. I of the 8vo. *Minutes*, 1862 edition. The first edition of the rules is on pages 24 and 28. The six following editions are on pages 492—497, in parallel columns. The 8th edition, which is the official and permanent one, is on page 678.

GEORGE LATHAM.

MISS BISHOP, HER LETTERS AND HER SCHOOL. (See below, p. 86.)

The printed letters to Miss Bishop (*Works*, vol. xiii.) are many of them composite, being made up of fragments of a much longer series, the originals of which are in the possession of Mrs. Alfred Hall, of Bristol. No. DCLXXXVII. is made up of extracts from four letters. I collated the printed series with these for Rev. R. Green, distributing and completing the conflated printed letters, and completing the series. Apparently a series has been made up, I think, by Wesley,¹ which might be "profitable" for devotional reading, the personal and historical touches being omitted. The earlier ones are addressed to Miss Bishop, "In the Vineyards, Bath"; or, what is really the same address, "Near the Countess of Huntingdon's Chappel"; "Near Lady Huntingdon's Chappel." After the letter to which this last address belongs, and part of which makes up DCLXXXVII. above mentioned, the address is generally "Near the Cross Bath, [in] Bath." A letter of 15 March, 1777, which forms the concluding paragraphs of DCXCII., is addressed "To Miss Bishop Schoolmistress in Bath," and the letters themselves show, *e.g.*, the last paragraph of DCLXXXVII., which belongs to "Colchester, Nov. 4, 1774," or a letter of Jan., 1774,—last paragraph of DCLXXXIX.,—that she is concerned with child education. But her chief work was done at Keynsham, near Bath, where Wesley visited her school, 28 Sep., 1781, 5 Oct., 1787. He regards her school as a successor to that of the Owens at Publow. Letter DCCCXLV. is in the original addressed "At her Boarding School In Keynsham, near Bristol." Local tradition says that our Keynsham chapel stands upon the site of her house.—H. J. F.

PASCAL AND THE WESLEYS.

II.

We have noted the introduction of Pascal's writings to English readers during the first half of the eighteenth century ;

1. The footnote to 22 Oct., 1777, in *Meth. Mag.*, 1807, p. 328, is plainly Wesley's.

his mitigating influence on the bitter hostility in England to literature written by Roman Catholic authors; the admiration of Samuel Wesley for "Les Messieurs de Port Royal" and Pascal; the editions of Kennet's translation; and the influence of Pascal's *Thoughts* upon Susanna Wesley.

In 1737 we find Charles Wesley reading some of his mother's favourite books, not only for his own sake, but that he may give spiritual help to his sisters. On 12 Sep., he says, he "spent an hour with Hetty in discoursing on the inward change, and reading Law." The next day he writes, "Her convictions were much deepened by my reading *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*" (by Henry Scougal). On the 16th he walked to Stanton Harcourt with Mr. Gambold, and in the evening found his sister Kezia, who begged him to pray for her. She "owned there was a depth in religion she had never fathomed; that she was not converted, but longed to be; would give up all to obtain the love of God. I prayed, and blessed God from my heart; then read *Pascal's Prayer for Conversion*, with which she was much affected, and begged me to write it out for her." The prayer appears to have been No. IV in Kennet's translation (1733, p. 301). We give a portion:—

"I am sensible, O my God, that my heart is so hardened, so full of worldly ideas, engagements, solitudes and disquiets, that neither health nor sickness, nor discourses, nor books . . . nor all my endeavours, . . . can effect anything towards the beginnings of my conversion if thou blestest not all these means with the extraordinary succours of Thy grace . . . Since the conversion which I now beg of Thy grace is a work exceeding all the powers of nature, to whom can I apply but to the almighty Master of my heart, and of nature itself? To whom O Lord, should I cry; to whom should I flee for succour unless unto Thee? Nothing that is not God can fix my confidence or fill my desires. It is God alone whom I ask and seek. It is Thou alone whom I implore for the obtaining of Thyself . . . Rescue and retrieve my affections . . . Thou alone wast able at first to create my soul; Thou alone art able to create it anew; Thou alone couldst imprint on it Thy image; Thou alone canst revive and refresh that defaced image, even Jesus Christ, the express image of Thy substance."

In Charles Wesley's account of his own conversion he describes Mr. Bray, "who knows nothing but Christ, yet by knowing Him, knows and discerns all things." Was this an echo of Pascal's thought?—"Jesus Christ is the goal of all, and the centre to which all tends. Who knows Him knows the reason of all things."

That John Wesley held Pascal in high esteem there is clear evidence. Pascal's *Thoughts* appears in the *Minutes* of 1745 among "the books we should keep for our own use at London, Bristol, and Newcastle." We may note in passing that Pascal's favourite, *Epictetus*, is in the list of Greek classics to be read at Kingswood.

To Miss Bishop, a well-educated lady, who kept a school at Bath,¹ Wesley wrote in 1774 concerning the "reasonings" which perplexed her, advising prayer, but adding also, "Christian prudence not only permits, but requires you to add other means to this. I would especially recommend reading; particularly Pascal's *Thoughts*." As we have seen, this is precisely the reading that Wesley's mother would have commended to a reasoner of Miss Bishop's type.

Wesley, writing on Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws*, thinks Montesquieu "unworthy of the violent encomiums which have been passed upon him. He excelled in imagination, but not in judgment, any more than in solid learning. I think, in a word, that he was a child to Monsieur Pascal."²

About the time that he prepared Pascal's *Thoughts* for publication in his *Christian Library* (13 Oct., 1752) Wesley wrote, "I read over Pascal's *Thoughts*. What could possibly induce such a creature as Voltaire to give such an author as this a good word, unless it was that he once wrote a satire? And so his being a satirist might atone even for his being a Christian." Wesley himself is satirical here. Voltaire, in his *Life of Louis XIV* (chap. 37), calls Pascal the first French satirist, and says "The best comedies of Molière have not more salt than the first *Lettres Provinciales*; Bossuet has nothing more sublime than the last." Had Wesley read Voltaire's *Life of Louis XIV*? There is one slight reference to that monarch in his *Journal*. We cannot find evidence that he had read Voltaire's critique of Pascal's *Thoughts* (1734).

Wesley published Pascal's *Thoughts* and *Prayers* in the *Christian Library* in 1753. He used Basil Kennet's translation, making a few alterations. Some superfluous words—for which Kennet had a weakness—are deleted. Latin quotations are either translated by Wesley, or omitted. Section X, on *The Jews* is abridged. Sec. XVII, *Against Mahomet*, is omitted entirely.³ The

1. See above p. 84.

2. For a modern estimate of Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois*, see Prof. R. M. Johnston's *French Revolution*, Macmillan, 1909, p. 16.

3. Cf. Wesley's Sermon, cxxv. §14.

paragraphs relating to Epictetus and Montaigne, in *Moral Thoughts*, have also disappeared, with a few of the less important passages in other sections. Kennet himself says in an introduction, not printed by Wesley, that he omitted "some lines which directly favoured the distinguishing doctrines of those of the Romish communion."⁴ This, perhaps, lessens the literary value of the book, and it is regrettable that Wesley did not provide a translation in his own lucid style, so well fitted to reproduce the unsurpassed style of Pascal's French. Nevertheless, here is the substance of the *Thoughts*. Not even Kennet's too ornate and diffuse translation can rob them of their light and heat.

Wesley was one of "those generous souls" described by M. Boutroux, "who share with Pascal the desire that Christianity may be in themselves and others a living thing, and not a formula or the catchword of a party."⁵ To illustrate this from the writings of both would be an interesting study. It would involve (I) Attention to their terms—'reason,' 'heart,' 'judgement,' &c. Wesley presents little difficulty; we have his own definitions (e.g. Serm. lxx). But, as Vinet points out, while it is not impossible to ascertain the special meaning of Pascal's terms, the task requires caution. "It is perhaps with a glossary in hand we ought to set about reading him."⁶

(II) The following points might be studied.

The tendency of both to scepticism. Both passed from doubt to faith. To use Wesley's terms, both had "a new class of senses opened in the soul." To use Pascal's terms: both held that "the heart has its own reasons." But neither came to "faith"—to "intuitivism"—as a "counsel of despair." Of Wesley it might be said, as it has been said of Pascal, "his conversion was not the suicide of reason" (Vinet).

Both held a doctrine of grace—with a difference. Both proclaimed, "Jesus-Christ pour tous": "the sole prerogative of Jesus Christ to be an universal blessing . . . the sacrifice of our Lord on the Cross extends its meritorious influence to the whole world."⁷ "Aussi c'est à Jésus-Christ d'être universel." Both

4. Baron Moncrief well says "We find in these *Thoughts* one reference to confession, some words on the Pope's authority, not unminged with misgivings that it might become tyrannical, some very hearty denunciations of schisms and Calvinists, but the staple of his *Thoughts* is evangelical, both in words and spirit, breathing the true doctrine of the Reformation in its breadth and power." Lect. on *Blaise Pascal*, Expositor, 1885, p. 345.

5. M. Boutroux, p. 208.

6. Studies in Pascal: *Of the Theology of the Book of the Thoughts*, p. 153.

7. Kennet's trans. adopted by Wesley. But we have an instance here

held that "Jesus Christ is a God to whom we draw near without pride, and before whom we abase ourselves without despair." And we may observe that the contrasts between the two men are as striking as their spiritual kinship.

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF SAMUEL WESLEY, JUNR., TO JOHN WESLEY,
DATED 16 APRIL, 1739.

"I intreat you to let me know what reasons you have to think you shall not live long. I received yours dated 4th on Saturday the 14th. The post will reach me much sooner and I shall want much to know what ails you. I should be very angry with you (if you cared for it) should you have broken your iron constitution already; as I was with the glorious Pascal for losing his health, and living almost 20 years in pain."

JOHN'S ENDORSEMENT: "I think this was y^e last letter I received from him."

[NOTE.—The above extract is from a MS. letter from Samuel Wesley, Junr., Master of Tiverton Grammar School, to his brother John, amongst my large collection of original papers of the Wesley family, and forms an interesting reference to Mr. Brigden's article on Pascal in the Sept. No. of the *Proceedings*. John's MS. endorsement states it was the last letter he received from Tiverton. Samuel died 6 Nov., 1739.

GEO. STAMPE.]

METHODISM IN ALNWICK.

Continued from p. 69.

A visit on 20 and 21 May, 1766, follows in the *Journal*. Wesley spared an hour for Alnwick Castle, which the second Duke of Northumberland was just then "enlarging and improving daily."

At the Conference of 1767 a notable figure in the earliest history of the Evangelical revival, William Darney, "Scotch Will," was appointed to the wide Newcastle Circuit. Grimshaw of Haworth had owed much to Darney, and the rough vigour and real spirituality of his preaching in Alnwick were crowned with great success. A gallery was put into the east end of the chapel, to accommodate the growing congregation. A company of strolling players who happened to be in Alnwick, fitted up a

published an anonymous translation designed to correct this, and to express the thoughts of Pascal "in his own style," with considerable success. Kegan Paul's trans. of Molinier's text (Bell, 1905) is a modern gem, but in view of the revised text, can only be used here for purpose of comparison. of Kennet's elaboration of Pascal's terse, aphoristic style. In 1806, Bagster

barn for a play-house; and "prepared," says Jacob Stanley, "a play against the Methodists; in which William Darney and the leading members of the Society were to perform their several parts"; (it will be understood, by actors who impersonated them and burlesqued their religion.) "The late Messrs. William Ferguson, who afterwards settled in London and in Holland, Thomas Gibson, Luke Mattison, and Edward Stanley, each had a part [thus vicariously] assigned to him." Somehow the play never got acted: we may suppose that the better public opinion of the town would not countenance the performance. Darney, himself a man of giant size, also confronted the players, and making his strong horse rear threateningly, he flourished his whip, crying, "Ye sons of Belial, come on!"¹ Poor "worn-out" Christopher Hopper was now settled in Newcastle, to become a blessing to the whole neighbourhood in his years of retirement.

1. It will be noticed that Jacob Stanley expressly identifies this William Ferguson with the London Methodist local preacher whose connection with Holland led to Wesley's two pleasant visits to that country. Neither the Memoir in *Arm. Mag.*, 1782, p. 292, nor Henry Moore, nor Tyerman, nor J. S. Stamp,—in the brief notice of the death of William's son Jonathan, sent by him to the *W.M. Mag.*, 1845, p. 292—connects Ferguson of Alnwick with Ferguson of London and Holland. Nor indeed does Stevenson (*City Road*, pp. 471, 481, 488), though a little comparison of the dates and ages which he gives, in association with William's wife Elizabeth, and his sons William and Jonathan and their sister Sarah [Peell], would make it pretty certain, if Stanley's testimony were not so express. Stevenson does not give anything beyond allusive reference to William the elder, and the indexing is not very clear. Stanley is a little inaccurate when he says that William "settled in Holland." His son Jonathan did so, for several years, but he himself only went over in the summer. (Perhaps Wesley's reference to William's "lodgings," 14 Aug., 1786, may carry this significance. They were in Amsterdam, 15 Aug., 1786).

Henry Moore, after a caustic reference to Whitehead's account of the occasion of Wesley's little tours in Holland, writes, what may be worth putting upon our pages: "Mr. William Ferguson, a member and local preacher in the London Society ['in the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch,'—Stevenson] traded to Holland for some years, and generally spent his summers there. He was a truly pious man, and could not be hid from those who had like precious faith. He soon found in Holland some who were Methodists in everything, except the name He spoke much of Mr. Wesley, and of the people under his care, and distributed his sermons amongst his new friends. Of these they expressed their high approbation, and also their wishes to see the venerable Founder of Methodism among them. Mr. Ferguson pressed Mr. Wesley to visit these pious people." (*Life of Wesley*, ii, 288-9). A letter, J.W. to W.F., 7 Sep., 1779, refers to this dissemination of Methodist literature. Ferguson has written proposals from the Hague, but is in London again, where he can consult with Atlay, the book steward. (*Works*, xii, 492. Notice the pleasant little note which follows, to Mrs. Ferguson, who is expecting her guest in Amsterdam in 1786).—H.J.F.

Wesley's record of the visit of 19 and 20 May, 1770, is noteworthy in connection with the only Alnwick Methodist whose name is given in the *Journals*. "I found that wise and good man, William Coward, had been buried two or three days before. I judged it right to do honour to his memory by preaching a kind of funeral sermon." On the next day he met the Society and pays to the members the tribute "We seemed to breathe the same spirit with him who has just entered into the joy of his Lord." Perhaps William Coward is the overseer of the poor of that name in 1744, recorded by Tate. To Edward Stanley once more we are indebted for a full account of this steady supporter of early Methodism in the town, to which he had joined himself somewhere about the year 1750. In June, 1757 he accompanied Wesley as far as Kelso, and stood by the evangelist in the market place of that town.

Everett's MS. notes give some further particulars. "The travelling preachers put up at William Coward's; afterwards at Thomas Gibson's; afterwards at Edward Mattinson's; and afterwards at George Young's. The first had 1s. per night for them; but T. Gibson proposed taking them for 9d. or 10d.; and besides these, amongst the members were John Humphrey and Betty Morrison, of Grumbles Park; James Robinson, James Atkinson and his mother and sisters, William Taylor, of Shilbottle Colliery, John Morrison, of Whittingham Lane, and William, Richard, George, Martin, and Jane Morrison, of Snipe House.

"The Class Leaders at this period were William Coward, Thomas Gibson and James Robinson. The Local Preachers were Thomas Gibson and William Coward, and William Taylor, of Shilbottle. To these were afterwards added Edward Stanley, Luke Mattinson, Robert Rand, George Young, William Cass, John Dixon, John Foster, and William Ferguson." "The preachers had a circuit of six weeks, with one day's rest in the six. The preaching places were Felton, Swanland, Warkworth, Guyson, Alemouth, Shilbottle, Lesbury, Longhoughton, Dunstan, Link Hall, Rennington, Whittingham, and Rothbury, to which place they generally rode. But they often walked between twenty and thirty miles and preached twice." At Felton they put up at Mrs. Sample's, and afterwards at George Lambert's; the congregations were large in a morning. At Warkworth their host was George Robinson. At Alemouth they were received by Mr. Adams,—a relative of Attorney Adams—and John Jobson. Robert Garner, one of the first Methodists, took them in at Lesbury; John Morrison, at Shilbottle; James Murray, at Longhoughton, where

they preached before his door ; James Stephenson and Robert Thompson, at Dunstan ; George Wilson, at Link Hall ; Henry Wardhough, at Rennington ; and Thomas Lee, at Rothbury. Such names deserve all honourable remembrance.

Thomas Rutherford (*Arm. Mag.*, 1806, p, 426, 1808, p 357) removed to Alnwick in May, 1772, and in the following June heard Wesley preach in the Town Hall. Says the evangelist, "What a difference between an English and a Scotch congregation,"—he had come from Scotland—"these judge themselves rather than the preacher, and their aim is not only to know, but to love and obey,"

Robert Swan, one of the preachers appointed to the Newcastle Circuit, was put down to reside at Alnwick in 1773. The house taken for him was in the Green Bat. The Rev. William Monteith, of the Bondgate Meeting, the Rev. John Marshall, of the Clayport Meeting, and Robert Swan, lived in three adjoining houses, Mr. Swan being in the middle one. Mr. Marshall always told Mr. Swan that when Mr. Wesley came, everything in his house was at his service.

Visits by Wesley followed, on 9 June, 1774, 30 May, 1776, and 24 May, 1779, without anything of special remark, except that on the 25 May he again visited the Castle, comparing its rooms with those of Harewood House, near Leeds ; much to their advantage, on the ground, not of profusion of ornament or abundance of gold and silver, but of "*a Je ne sçai quoi* that strikes every person of taste." He was back again in Alnwick, after visiting Scotland, on 21 June. In the May of 1780, he is there once more, spending an hour, as he came toward the town, at Hulne Abbey, then recently repaired by the Duke of Northumberland.

In the lovely autobiographical notice of Mrs. Planche, of Kelso, sent by William Hunter to the *Arm. Mag.*, 1791, we find an illuminating touch worth recording :—" [At Kelso] I could hear of no Methodists nearer than forty miles, namely at Alnwick." She went to Alnwick, and under the preaching of William Hunter,— "this eminently holy man," Atmore calls him, a native of Placey, near Newcastle (Atmore, *Memorial*, p. 203, sqq.)—found the peace her heart had long been seeking, in 1781. "The dear Methodists at Alnwick were kind to me beyond expression, and have been ever since. I pray God to reward them abundantly." In response to her appeal, Wesley directed Hunter to give a few days to Kelso, and in June of the following year, he himself visited it, staying with Dr. Douglas, Mrs. Planche's brother, as it appears.

Our *Itinerary* has entered a visit of Wesley to Alnwick on 28

May, 1782, but without the *required. It is not expressly noted in the *Journals*, but two letters, one to Charles Wesley, and one to Charles Atmore, are headed "Alnwick, May 28, 1782." The visit of 15 and 16 June following is simply mentioned. He had come *via* Kelso, as has been said.

John Pritchard (*E.M.P.*, vi, 269) bears witness also to the admirable spirit of Alnwick Methodism. He was disabled with ague. "During my illness, which was at Alnwick, I found many friends, who spared neither cost nor pains to make me comfortable. Here I could spend my days cheerfully, among a loving, tender and affectionate people, who received my testimony with thankfulness and love." His stay in Alnwick produced choice fruit, not least in that, in 1783, a young man of Alnwick, Robert Johnson, was induced to enter the ministry. (See his memoir in *Meth. Mag.*, 1829, p. 359, 643, 1830, p. 217). He says: "I was born at Alnwick, January 20, 1762. My parents, though not wealthy, were respectable. My father had been a member of the Methodist Society, and retained a most sincere regard and esteem for both the preachers and people to the day of his death. My mother, who survived my father some years, was a woman of uniform and exemplary piety, and a steady member of the Society for about three score years." He was awakened under the influence of Robert Carr Brackenbury, in 1780, and the Alnwick Methodists completed the gracious work. He never expressed any wish to become a preacher, but was proposed by John Pritchard, and at the Conference of 1783 received an appointment to the Hull Circuit, where also he closed a long and honourable career of ministerial service in 1829.

Amongst the circuit records has been preserved a Stewards' Book, containing an account of the collections and their expenditure from 1783 to 1798. The following extracts may be given: "February 9,—the Sunday's collection was 5s. 4½d." "June 9,—to Doctor Gair, for attendance on Mr. Pritchard, 5s." A quarterly allowance of £3 12s. was paid to one of the preachers. In 1785 rooms were hired for the accommodation of preachers passing through Alnwick, the rent of which was £7 per annum. An inventory of the furniture of these was taken on 22 November. The income for the year was £55 8s. 1d., and the expenditure £54 12s. 1d. "7 June, 1784—a letter to Mr. Westley, 3d" Wesley notes a visit on 28 May, 1784.

Jeremiah Brettell, in his full autobiographical account of his life and labours, graphically describes a winter's storm which broke upon a fleet of colliers, picking their way from London to

the North, and which strewed the Alnwick coast for miles with wreckage and dead bodies.

In the autumn of 1785 and the spring of 1786, Dr. Coke travelled through a considerable part of England, looking into the condition of the trust properties and endeavouring to bring them into line with the Conference plan. The Stewards' Book records : "Sep. 12—Dr. Coke, one night 1s. 6d. Oct. 17—Letter from Dr. Coke, 5d.—October 30, Dr. Coke provided for, 1s."

The year 1786 was a remarkable one in Alnwick. The death of a young man, John Stanley, at the early age of twenty-eight, excited a deep interest. He had been irreproachable in conduct, but lacked "the one thing needful." When he did find it, his concern for the salvation of his acquaintances and the visitors to his sick room was full of extraordinary unction. Such a revival broke out, under the intense feeling awakened by his dying experiences and testimony, that the congregations became too large for the chapel, and further accommodation was found needful. In fact, so greatly did the work and the Society prosper, that it was resolved to erect both a new chapel and a preacher's house. Negotiations were entered into for the purchase of a plot of ground between Clayport Street and the Green Bat, in what is now called Chapel Lane. The property belonged to Mr. Edward Gallon, from whom it was purchased by Mr. John Dore, borrowing £500 from Mrs. Mary Gair and her sons, Edward and Robert. In course of time the mortgage was foreclosed and the ground sold by order of the Court of Chancery. Mr. Charles Mattison then negotiated for the purchase of the land on behalf of Mr. John Sanderson, who afterwards completed the bargain by covenanting to pay £200 at once to one of Mrs. Gair's sons, and £200 at the death of the other, with interest at 5 per cent. Mr. John Sanderson acted as trustee for the Methodist Society.

Wesley records his laying of the foundation stone of the new chapel on 2 June, 1786. It was in due course opened in December, 1787, by the Rev. John Grundell. He was a remarkable man. Born in Sunderland in June, 1761, he became blind while yet a child, but he improved his mind and accumulated knowledge till he became an able and acceptable preacher, preaching his first sermon, when only nineteen, in the Market Place, South Shields. Subsequently he itinerated in the neighbourhood, occasionally preaching under the direction of Wesley. He had a commanding voice, was mighty in the Scriptures, and highly esteemed in

Alnwick. It is of interest to note that, whilst the chapel was being built, Edward Stanley's son Jacob, the future President, then a boy of eleven years of age, came under conviction and joined the Society. [*W.M.M.*, 1826, 793 sqq.]

Wesley is sarcastic about the new preaching house, in which he preached at his next, and last, visit to Alnwick, 24 May, 1788. In his judgment it was a twin "scarecrow" to the chapel at Brentford. The new and larger chapel was not ordinarily filled, until the appointment of Charles Atmore, in 1791, whose effectual preaching made "Methodism at this time a great power in Alnwick, and in the district around." (*Tate's History*). [Reference was made in *Proceedings*, v, p. 127, to Jacob Stanley's attempt to vindicate the building, and to explain Wesley's strange pronouncement upon its design. "A description for which I know not how to account, on any other supposition than that he had been very much exhausted with his ride from Berwick, and that the organs of vision were then greatly impaired."] The chapel is still standing. It was registered for public worship in the Consistory Court of Durham, 30 Sep., 1788. The deed of conveyance of the chapel property is dated 16 July, 1793. The dimensions of the ground are given as 76 feet from east to west, and 214 feet from north to south, bounded on the north by two houses in Clayport Street, in the occupation of George Wardell, apothecary, and John Lindsay, attorney. A stable is mentioned as adjoining the back wall of the chapel. Mr. John Sanderson paid £200 to Ann and Edward Gair.

At the Conference of the following year Alnwick was cut off from Newcastle and made the head of a circuit, with three preachers, and sixteen preaching places: Earsdon, Plessey, Morpeth, Meldon, Saugh-house, Rothbury, Chattin, Berwick, Lucker, North Sunderland, Luckhall, Alnmouth, Warkworth, Lesbury, Dunstan, and Branton. William Hunter was its first superintendent. He had heard Wesley preach on his first visit to Plessey ("Placey" in the early *Journals*) 1 April, 1743.

The visit of 24 May, 1788, is the last recorded in the printed *Journals*, but the Society Book vouches for one last visit. "1790, May 12—Paid for Mr. Wesley's Horses, 10s. 3d." [That was, no doubt, the date of the payment of the bill, but the *Headingley Diary* shows 10 May as the date of the visit itself. See the *Itinerary, Proc.*, VI, pt. 8]. Moreover, the Rev. James Everett has preserved the following particulars. He was only six years old at the time, but the circumstances made a deep impression upon his mind. "It was in the Methodist Chapel at Alnwick, while at the

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Sabbath School, that I saw the venerable John Wesley. I might have seen him, and heard him preach, previously to the occasion alluded to, when led to the chapel by my mother. But the period alluded to is the only one aided by recollections distinct and personal. My impression is this: After we as scholars had received proper instruction on the subject of good behaviour, we were taught to expect the presence of a great and good man, who was loved by the wise and good, and especially venerated by the Methodists. We were summoned from our seats, and arranged in the front of the communion rails, forming two-thirds of a tolerable circle. The pulpit surmounted a small passage leading from a back door into the chapel, boxed off to the floor, a door right and left leading to the pews on each side of the ground floor, and a pair of folding doors opening into the communion immediately beneath the pulpit. From between the latter the venerable Wesley issued, whose step, even in age, seemed elastic. He was somewhat low in stature, having the features and form, the flowing curled wig, with which he is represented in various engravings. He addressed us, as we stood before him, briefly but affectionately."

An interesting document, which was preserved by Everett, and passed from him to Tyerman, gives a list of subscriptions headed by Wesley, for the building fund of the new House.

"Alnwick, May 10, 1790.

"We whose names are underwritten, design, with God's "help, to subscribe as follows, weekly, towards the lessening of "the debt of the preaching house.

"John Wesley, 2s. 6d.

John Stamp, 6d.

"Ralph Annett, 1s.

Luke Hindmarsh, 6d.

"John Pringle, 3d.

Samuel Purvis, 2d.

"James Gough, 2d.

George Wilson, 6d."

The heading, and his name, are written by Wesley himself, in a trembling hand. Wesley had brought John Stamp with him as the "assistant." Ralph Annett was an important tradesman in the town, and for many years bore office in the Society. But he followed Kilham, and joined the New Connexion. Luke Hindmarsh also joined the New Connexion, but returned to the Wesleyan Methodists. John Pringle, a pious and kind hearted man, was the founder of the large business, afterwards carried on under the style of Edward Thew and Sons. Samuel Purvis was a class leader, and the only one whose family continued to attend the chapel.

Newcastle, Sunderland, Hexham, and Alnwick formed one

of the new Districts devised by William Thompson and the Conference of 1791.

J. H. BROADBENT.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

422. ADDENDA TO ARTICLE ON THE INSCRIBED WINDOW PANES IN BINGLEY CIRCUIT. *W.H.S. Proc.*, vii, p. 25—28.

1. Of the two years that John Whitley spent in the ministry the first was spent in So. Staffordshire (Birmingham) where he had as superintendent Thos. Taylor, who, along with Mr. Wesley, had induced him to enter the ministry. Mr. Taylor had evidently arranged it thus, that he might be helpful to his old friend. The second year was spent at Thirsk.

2. The four words at the head of the third pane, "Death, Judgement, Heaven and Hell," form part of a verse which was found on tombstones about this period.

"Death, Judgement, Heaven and Hell, think, Christian, think,
You stand on vast eternity's dread brink,
Faith, Repentance, Piety and Prayer,
Despise this world, the next be all your care."—

Wes. Meth. Mag., 1785, p. 585.

—*Mr. Geo. Severs.*

423. STONES END. (*Proc.*, vii, p. 71, N. & Q. 417). AN ACT PASSED 1750: "To open and widen the road from the Stones-end at Lambeth to the alms-houses at Newington." Also to "make a new road from a place called Symond's Corner, on the new road, across St. George's Fields, to the Stones end in Blackman Street in the parish of St. George's, Southwark." Also "to erect a turn-pike or *toll-gate* at or near Symond's Corner, and to demand tolls: For every horse, mare, mule, ass—&c one halfpenny." [*Entick's Hist. and Survey of London*, 1766, vol. III, p. 50.]—*Rev. T. E. Brigden.*





WEDGWOOD TEA-POT, WITH PORTRAIT OF WESLEY PREACHING
(AFTER HONE). PROBABLE DATE, 1772-1775.

METHODIST POTTERY.

It appears from the advertising columns of the *Methodist Recorder* that under the auspices of the North Staffordshire Wesleyan Mission, the very beautiful Cameo Medallions, and the Basalt Bust of John Wesley, originally produced by the famous Staffordshire potter Josiah Wedgwood, are being reproduced by his successors, the present eminent firm of Wedgwood & Co.

To these two well known and much appreciated examples of Wesley ware is added what is termed, "The celebrated Tea-pot of John Wesley (preserved at City Road)."

Concerning this Tea-pot a remarkable story is told in an "Illustrated Hand-book to City Road Chapel, etc.," by the (late) Rev. R. M. Spoor, and published in 1881. It reads as follows:—

"Here also is kept the famous tea-pot used by Wesley for his household, and at the Sunday morning gathering of his preachers, when they met for breakfast, before going to their several appointments for the day. It is said to have been presented to Wesley by Wedgwood, the famous potter, of Staffordshire Visitors are generally amused at the size of the tea-pot. It will hold over four quarts."

It is very doubtful whether this legendary story can be sustained in any single particular. Except as to the *size* of the pot, it does not seem possible to ascertain any direct facts concerning it. As, then, there is no reliable information, we must rely largely on probabilities.

With regard to the dimensions of it, evidently Mr. Spoor was in error, unless, perchance a four-quart pot was temporarily substituted for the one we saw in the City Road Vestry some forty years ago, and which is now in the Museum at Wesley's House. It holds about *one* quart.

The legend concerning the presentation by Wedgwood and the use by Wesley, is without doubt mythical. The present firm of Wedgwood & Co. say their predecessors manufactured the tea-pots, but they are unable to name any date. It is more

modern in form and pattern than is consistent with those in use in Wesley's time. And it is noted that in the *Graces* printed on its sides there is an entire absence of the old long form of the letter "s" which was almost, if not quite in universal use up to the close of the 18th century.

It is very probable that tea-pots of this pattern were manufactured for general public use, and that this one was presented by some good Methodist to the Society Steward of City Road Chapel for use at their tea meetings, where it would be equally appropriate to a Methodist as well as to any other tea drinking community. Or possibly it belonged to the Chapel Keeper of the time, and found its way into the preachers' vestry for occasional use there.

It is believed that the only kind of tea-pot made by Josiah Wedgwood, to which the name of Wesley was attached, was one made about the year 1772, (not earlier, and possibly later) on which Guy Green printed the portrait of Wesley, after N. Hone. The accompanying photograph shows this tea-pot, from which it will be seen how different is the shape and design from the more modern one in the Museum. It would have no more connection with Wesley than that Wedgwood used the portrait of a popular man to embellish his wares and attract public favour.

Though it is not possible to fix the date of the manufacture of the museum tea-pot, it is probable that it was produced at the time of the 1839 Centenary, when a large quantity of "Wesley Pottery" was manufactured,—plates, mugs, and general tea-ware.

With regard to Wesley's alleged use of this tea-pot, a fairly diligent quest has not revealed any habit of assembling his preachers for morning tea. He himself says that being convinced that the use of tea was injurious to his health, he gave it up in the year 1746, and there is no evidence that he renewed the habit in later years. He wrote a pamphlet against its use. In his correspondence with his preachers he occasionally advised them to "drink no tea," and at the Conference of 1788 he classed tea with "drams, tobacco, and snuff," which he advised the preachers not to use.

Although the writer has been a collector of *Wesleyana* for many years, he has never added a tea-pot to his collection. Not for lack of opportunity, but because he never had any faith in its connection with Wesley. Three tea-pots have been offered in the course of the last thirty years or so. Two of them were of the same pattern as the City Road example; the third had a portrait of Wesley, and was accompanied by a certain certificate to the same

effect as Mr. Spoor's statement. For this tea-pot the vendor asked the moderate sum of Three Guineas! It happened, however, that the portrait was after *Romney*, and though it was pointed out that *Romney* did not paint the original till 1789, the vendor seemed to be unconvinced that his statement could not be correct.

If the City Road tea-pot could be subjected to close examination it might be seen whether the printing upon it is *over* or *under* the glaze. If the latter, as is most probable, the tea-pot could not have been manufactured during Wesley's lifetime, as that process was only introduced by the Staffordshire potters, at a date about the time of his death, or perhaps a little later.

From the foregoing considerations it will appear safe to conclude that the story of the tea-pot above given cannot be sustained, and that Wesley never used it, or even saw it.

JOSEPH G. WRIGHT.

WESLEY AS THE AGENT OF THE S.P.G.

It will be remembered that, after Wesley was selected for service in Georgia by Dr. John Burton and Gen. Oglethorpe, two of the most active trustees of the Colony, he was presented by them to the S.P.G., with a request for his appointment. The following deeply interesting Minute contains the sanction of the society, and the terms of the young missionary's engagement:—"A memorial of the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, in America, was read, setting forth that the Rev. Mr. Samuel Quincy, to whom the Society had been pleased, upon their recommendation, to allow a salary of fifty pounds per an^m has by letter certified to the said Trustees that he is desirous of leaving the said colony of Georgia, and returning home to England in the month of March next, to which they have agreed ; and

the said trust also recommends the Rev. Mr. John Wesley to the Society, that they would allow to him the said fifty pounds per annum from the time Mr. Quincy shall leave the said colony, in the same manner Mr. Quincy had it. Agreed that the Society do approve of Mr. Wesley as a proper person to be a missionary at Georgia and that fifty pounds per annum be allowed to Mr. Wesley from the time Mr Quincy's salary shall cease."

This resolution was passed at a meeting held on 16 January, 1736, "at which the Bps. of London, Lichfield and Coventry, Rochester, and Gloucester, and others were present."

As Wesley was an agent of the Society, he was bound by the rules so carefully drawn up by the S.P.G. for the guidance of its many missionaries. A study of these regulations will throw new light on Wesley's conduct in Georgia.

Before calling attention to some of these rules, we may quote the following notice:—"The Society request all persons concerned that they recommend no man out of favour or affection, or any other worldly consideration, but with a sincere regard to the honour of Almighty God and our blessed Saviour: as they tender the interest of the Christian religion and the good of men's souls." With a clear conscience the two Trustees were able to recommend the young Oxford Fellow, as well as to answer the nine questions proposed concerning all candidates.

The "Instructions for the Missionaries" were divided into three sections—The first being "Upon their admission by the Society." One of the four regulations under this head was, "That from the time of their admission they lodge not in any public house; but at some *bookseller's*, or in other private and reputable families, till" &c. There is no need to point out how exactly Wesley fulfilled this law. The second relates to their attention to study and religious duties "till they can have a convenient passage"; which Wesley, we are sure, was forward to do. The fourth runs—That before their departure, they wait upon his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, their Metropolitan, and upon the Lord Bishop of London, their Diocesan, to receive their paternal benedictions and instructions." Had the young missionary commenced his Journal a few days before he went on board the "Simmonds" it would have recorded his observance of this rule. We know that Ogilvie accompanied Whitefield when he waited on the Primate, as did the Rev. Arthur Bedford, when he sought a farewell interview with his Diocesan, and probably it was after introducing Wesley to his Lordship of London that Dr. Burton accompanied him down the Thames.

PROCEEDINGS.

The second section of the "Instructions," consisting of three parts, relates to the conduct of the Missionaries, "Upon their going on board the ship designed for their passage." They were to demean themselves not only inoffensively and prudently, but so as to become remarkable examples of piety and virtue to the ship's company," "to prevail with the Captain or Commander to have morning and evening prayer said daily ; as also preaching and catechizing every Lord's day," and "to instruct, exhort, admonish and reprove as they have occasion and opportunity, with such seriousness and prudence, as may gain them reputation and authority."

The Journal of the young missionary for Friday, 17th October, 1735, proves how he at once began to fulfil this requirement, and four days later, "when they began to be a little regular," he gives the hours for prayer and catechizing. Other entries such as those on 9, 16, 21 November, 10 and 21 December, 1735, 25 January, 1736, &c., show how he kept these rules for conscience sake. [Dates as in New Edition.]

But a far larger number of the "Instructions" refer to the conduct of the Missionaries, "upon their arrival in the country whither they shall be sent." Of these there are twelve "with respect to themselves" ; fourteen "with respect to their parochial cure" ; and three "with respect to the Society." Two of the "Instructions" with respect to themselves may be here mentioned, one regarding their studies and the other their manner of living. "That they acquaint themselves thoroughly with the Doctrine of the Church of England, as contained in the Articles and Homilies ; its worship and discipline, and Rules for the Behaviour of the Clergy, as contained in the Liturgy and Canons," &c. Turning to Wesley's *Journal* we find under the dates 22 February, 10 May, 13 and 20 September, 1736, and 30 September, 1737, &c., how he conformed to the Rules, studied the Canons, and read the Homilies of the Church. This "Instruction" of the S.P.G. was all the more necessary because of the miscellaneous character of the colonists, and because of the troubles in the older plantations. Wesley has been blamed for his high ecclesiastical notions in Georgia, and some of us have compared his failure with that of the first missionaries in Northumbria ; but was he not endeavouring conscientiously to follow the rules that he had promised to obey ? Another Instruction, "with respect to themselves," was, "That they be not nice about meats or drinks . . . but contented with what health requires, and the place easily affords." Turning to the entry in Wesley's *Journal* for 30 March, 1736, we read how

he and Mr. Delamotte observed this rule with much advantage to their health. Probably the "experiment" was the more readily tried because Wesley and his mother had corresponded about the merits of Dr. Cheyne's regime. Other parts of Wesley's conduct, distributing books, setting up schools (Rules xii and xiii.), his long journeying to the out stations (Rule xi.), his concern about the heathen and infidels (Rule ix.), &c., &c., were in exact obedience to the Instructions of the Society which sent him forth. But our space permits the mention of only one more, and this rule we quote as an apology for the conscientious young missionary. "That they duly consider the qualifications of those adult persons to whom they administer Baptism, and of those likewise whom they admit to the Lord's Supper: according to the directions of the Rubricks in our Liturgy." Surely this entitles Wesley's letter to Mrs. Sophia Williamson to a more charitable reading than has been wont, and supplies an answer to several of the "ten bills" of the grand jury of Savannah.

R. BUTTERWORTH.

JOHN WESLEY AND MARGATE.

There is preserved in an old account book at Margate a remarkably interesting document which throws light upon the following statements in Wesley's *Journal* :—

"1765. Dec. 4. A few people here also join in helping each other to work out their salvation.

"1785. Nov. 30. I went on to Margate. Some years since we had a small Society here, but a local preacher took them to himself; only two or three remained, who from time to time pressed our preachers to come again; and to remove the objection that there was no place to preach in, with the help of a few friends they built a convenient preaching house. Thursday, December 1st. I opened it in the evening.

"1788. Nov. 28. A little preaching house being just built St. Peter's, two miles from Margate . . . I preached at at nine."

PROCEEDINGS.

The paper in question was written by Mr. John Gouger, of St. Nicholas (1759-1851), who was Circuit Steward for 50 years. It is here reprinted verbatim.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF METHODISM IN THE ISLE OF THANET.

“It was about the year 1767 that a person of the name of Coleman, who had lived in London, and been converted under the preaching of Mr. Wesley, settled in the town of Margate, and taught a school there, and fitted up his schoolroom for the purpose of preaching the Gospel, where he preached, and frequently in the public places out of doors in the town, likewise on Sunday evenings; and being a man of considerable talent, of great boldness and great fluency of speech, he was made very useful and gathered a good society. About the year 1778, he rented a small chapel at Birchington, the same now [1821] in use, and soon after built a chapel in the village of St. Nicholas, his native place, where he had previously attempted to preach in the streets, but so determined was the opposition that he was drummed out of the place; but now having a place to preach in secure from violence, he preached in it once a fortnight and soon had a respectable society, also at Birchington, but the principal gentlemen of the place, so called, did their uttermost to prevent his success, threatening all who attended with the loss of their habitation and employ; which threatening they carried into effect; but the Lord stood by those who adhered to His truth, and raised them up friends, so that they soon found themselves rather benefited by the exchange, and the hand of the Lord was visibly seen in the overthrow of their persecutors.

About the year 1780 the Preachers stationed in the Canterbury Circuit were invited by Mr. Coleman to preach in these places conjointly with him, which continued for three or four years till some circumstances arising to prevent their labouring in union, the people whom he had formed into societies were under the necessity of deliberating on the question whether they would continue to hear Mr. Coleman, or have the Preachers from Canterbury to labour among them, when it was determined that the latter should continue to preach to them. The chapel at St. Nicholas, which was Mr. Coleman's property, was parted with, and Birchington was the only place where the Preachers at that time confined their labours. Here was a respectable society; and the few who had belonged to the society at St. Nicholas attended there.

Mr. William Brewer, who had been a great sinner, but was truly converted from the error of his ways, and one of Mr. Coleman's principal hearers at Margate, invited the Preachers to Margate, where for a time they preached in a small room, and had but few followers, but in 1785, with some difficulty they built a chapel which was opened by Mr. Wesley, and the cause prospered, and it is due to the memory of that excellent man, Mr. Brewer, to record his zeal and liberality in supporting the cause there for many years at no small sacrifice while in its infant state.

About a year after a small chapel was built at St. Peter's, which was also opened by Mr. Wesley, where the preaching was continued till 1796, but the people falling off it was given up. In the year 1799, another chapel was built at St. Nicholas, which was well attended and a tolerable society raised; in the same year a chapel was built at Minster and there the cause prospered. About the year 1808, the Circuit was divided from Canterbury. Previous to this a small room had been taken at Ramsgate for preaching, and in 1810 a neat chapel was built, which was opened by Dr. Coke and Mr. Wm. Williams, under whose superintendence it was erected. In the following year the chapel at Margate being too small and in a bad state was taken down and considerably enlarged, and about two years after a neat chapel was built at St. Peter's, where our friends once more enjoy the preaching of the Methodists.

The Circuit is supplied by two itinerant, and a number of respectable local Preachers, and at present [1821] has about 390 members."

The chapel erected in 1811 was situated in Hawley Square and was extended in 1844 and 1896. Some further particulars about the chapel at St. Peter's may be seen in the *W.M. Magazine* for June, 1909. I have satisfied myself that the schoolroom of Mr. Coleman was situated at the most inland corner of Love Lane. It is still a place of worship. An aged member told me that her father remembered hearing Wesley preach at Love Lane.

JOHN WESLEY'S LAST VISIT TO MARGATE.

John Wesley's printed Journal concludes with October 24th, 1790, and the last visit to Margate, therein mentioned, took place on December 16th, 1789. In a letter to his niece, dated October 5th, 1790, he expressed the purpose of coming to Margate again in his regular course. This purpose was accomplished. The Rev. H. J. Foster has sent me an extract from the pocket Diary of John Wesley, preserved at Headingley College. Mr. Foster writes :—

"I enclose the decipherment of the entries in the pocket diary at the dates you want. The sight of the writer is failing; these are very bad days; some are better. Often, only experience drawn from the better written entries of the preceding months can explain what such as these are. But the symbols are few and of frequent occurrence, so that progress is fairly sure for one who deciphers. Erasure after erasure at this point speaks volumes as to the veteran's condition. He really did not know where he had opened his book, when he wrote November 30th under September 30th. Proper names are in longhand, though often abbreviated. If you know them otherwise, you can tell what they are, though most are fairly plain by themselves."

From the Diary it appears that on November 29th, 1790, Wesley started in his chaise with Mr. Dickenson (presumably the Rev. Peard Dickenson), from London, at 5 in the morning, took refreshment at Dartford, went on to Chatham, where apparently he arrived at 10-30 a.m., having occupied himself during the journey in reading Spenser. At Canterbury he was entertained to dinner by brother Hugil, and afterwards paid a visit at sister Bissaker's. He retired for prayer at 6-30, met the Society at 7, having a "good time," supper and prayer following. At 9-30, he retired to rest.

The record for November 30th is very confused. Possibly three separate attempts were made to enter up the day. Wesley rose at 4, and read or heard read a sermon. At 8, he breakfasted, retired for prayer, and at 9 proceeded in his chaise with Mr. Dickenson to Sandwich. By 4 he was at Margate, where brother Brewer entertained him. He had tea, retired for prayer and perhaps for a nap; at 6, preached on Job xx1. 22, and met the Society. After this he wrote, had supper, prayed and retired at 9-30. The service would in all probability be held at the old Hawley Square Chapel (1785-1811). The next day he returned to London, and the Methodists of Margate saw his face no more.

F. F. BRETHERTON.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES IN SOUTHWARK IN THE LETTERS OF THOMAS DAY.

Some years ago I was allowed to see and to make extracts from a folio MS. book in which a Mr. Thomas Day, in the fashion of those leisured times, has laboriously entered copies of his letters to Wesley and others, together with a poetical review of his religious history, "The Experience of an Old Man," in C. M. verse. His leisure enables him to write very long letters, couched in the precise, formal epistolary style which to us seems so tedious. They are on religious topics, and some remarkable ones are addressed to the clergy on the Southwark side of the Thames, notably to his spiritual father, Jones of St. Saviour's Church.¹ He corresponded with Wesley, whose society he joined at the Foundery in 1756. Provokingly enough, many letters to and from Wesley, and connected,—the owner of the book tells me,—with the building and the opening years of City Road, have disappeared. The inner edges of the torn-out leaves stand witness to the cool abstraction of these by a former borrower. Two letters to Wesley remain, however, in which, before he had been a member with Wesley many months, the writer, with the assurance of a beginner in experience and theology, challenges critically Wesley's notes on John xv, 9, and Philipp. iii, 8. "They have been stumbled at by some members of the Society." Indeed he had joined Mr. Wesley's Society on very independent terms. He says, as he reviews his religious life, "If an assent to all the doctrines held by any sect or party had been required of me as a previous qualification for admittance into their Society, I do not know that I could have been a member of any Church or Body of People upon earth. I deem myself a member of the Church of England, not only on account of my birth and education, but on account of those capital blessings of my life received therein ; and having joined Mr. Wesley's Society in February 1756 from a full conviction of the truth of what I call 'the glorious

1. "The solemn Jones" Day calls him, in some rhymed records to be mentioned presently. *Jones on The Trinity* is an old, forgotten book ; but see Wesley's letter to Miss Bishop, 17 Ap., 1776 (*Works*, xiii, 30) for a favourable judgment upon the work.

essential doctrines of Wesleyan Methodism,' my judgment with respect to them remains unchanged to the present time. But I do not account the doctrine of a never ending punishment as one of these. I never did cordially embrace it." He began criticising Wesley very early in his membership. Under April, 1757, he writes: " Mr. Wesley has made great alterations in the Classes by putting those together whose places of abode are nighest each other ; in consequence of which Regulation he has removed you to Mr. Dickens' class at Snows Fields ; but I do not approve of his separating us, and intend to speak to him at the first opportunity. He goes out of town on Easter Tuesday." Jones of Southwark does not escape, though Day owed his soul to a sermon of his preached in St. Saviour's Church, 18 March, 1753. "After a preface which arrested the attention of his audience, in 1757, I heard him affirm ' that there was a number created by God, on purpose for eternal damnation.' The mischief he did by this sermon was inconceivable. He afterwards dropped preaching opinions, and retrieved his usefulness in a good degree some time before his death, which happened on 6th June 1762. I revere his memory, though I never could adopt many of his sentiments." It may serve to sample the characterization of individuals in the "Old Man's" review, if we take a verse whose subject is James Relly.

" 21. O'er these I draw a veil, save one, whose tongue,
Full of religion as his heart of guile ;
Black as the dust of coal, did right or wrong
Just as it suited him, or purpose vile."²

Vigorous, at any rate ! We shall be better pleased with Day's footnote to this stanza. "I mention this man, as a melancholy instance of the natural tendency of substituting *opinions* in the place of *obedience*. Having adopted rigid Calvinism in principle he gradually slid into rank practical Antinomianism." Our members know that it was this antinomian 'Calvinism' which prompted the fateful question in the Conference of 1770: "Have we not leaned too much towards Calvinism?" Perhaps we may think that it was a revolt from this debased Calvinism which led Thomas Day in 1756 to attach himself to Wesley's people and their Arminianism. Thomas Day was an original trustee of City Road. His son, Isaac Day, was a trustee from 1803 till his death in 1850 (Stevenson, *City Road*, pp. 221, 250, 251.)

Thomas Day, like his father, was a large carter and horse

2. Day's next stanza commences with the apologetic line :
"My friends must this prolixity forgive."

owner in the privileged service of the City of London. He was proud to tell that his father, as Master of the Carters Company, had walked at the head of the Carters, with whip and smock, at the coronation of George II. Thomas Day heads the poetical retrospect of his life: "Castle Lane, Southwark, May 26th, 1799." Southwark, as has been said, is the world of these letters, and in several of them, written before he became a member at the Foundery, we get interesting glimpses of the life in some of those religious "societies" which are familiar to all students of the origin of the Evangelical revival in England. Amongst the oddly assorted contents of his MSS. is an address by him, "spoken to the Society at the Lime Wharf, Clink Street, about October 1755," apropos of "the unhappy Divisions which have lately happen'd among us:" very long and very "preachy"! It is accompanied by a letter which was "wrote at the Request of the Society, to Bro. Jn^o Coventry at Lee's Court near Feversham, Kent; as an Answer to his letter bearing date Sep^r 28, 1755." He says; "I can now with pleasure acquaint you, that all Disputes in the Society are happily adjusted Now it is apparent [Satan] has been among us, striving to alienate our Minds from each other, by various other Wiles and Stratagems endeavouring to separate us; at one Time he had well nigh overthrown us, for (I believe) the Space of two Months, scarce any of us met together; perhaps not above Six or Seven members, and as many Strangers, on Sunday evenings; and for several Thursdays together, not above Three or Four at most; at length when reduced (to our thinking) to the lowest ebb, on a sudden as it were, we were brought together again, and now we have as large meetings as we had at the first." On 19 April, 1756, he writes a faithful letter of warning and appeal to Friend J[ames Smith, at Dorking, Surrey], who used to meet with him and others for fellowship "at the College." I do not know to what trouble Brother Coventry alludes when he tells Day that "they were apprehensive of having the things seized at the Society, so have removed the Books and Money from the Room, for fear of the worst."

This last, together with a third society near the Thames, comes under Day's censure in his unsparing manner, in his versified retrospect:

"When I revise the social names enrolled
At College and the Palace, whose amount
Was more than forty—in the Church's fold—
I think were some of very small account."

In a footnote he whets the appetite of an antiquary: "An account of these two Societies is placed in the Book of Fragments"

Alas, the Book of Fragments is lost !

The three Societies mentioned by Day lay within the narrow area of small streets and courts bounded by the Borough High Street on the east and Blackfriars Bridge Road on the west. Barclays Brewery occupies a large part of this area, and has swallowed up Globe Alley, which, as all the English speaking world has recently been reminded, preserved the memory of Shakespeare's Globe Theatre.³ A student of London antiquities remembers that Blackfriars Bridge Road cut through the once famous but disreputable Paris Garden, and will explain that "Paris Garden" was a corruption of Palace Garden, that is, the garden of the Palace of the bishops of Winchester. Winchester Yard is still discoverable as an open space, closed in on the north by Pickford and Co's vast hop warehouses, except where an archway leads out into Clink Street, in which was the first mentioned of Day's Societies.⁴ The Clink was the prison belonging to the liberty of the bishops of Winchester, and stood at the west end of the street, near the point where this joins Park Street, the scene of Spurgeon's early success. Park Street was once Deadman's Place. The College preserved the memory of the College of the Poor, founded by letters patent of Queen Elizabeth in 1584, and largely endowed (*Old and New London*, vi, 33.) Alleyn's alms houses were built on land which was part of the endowment. I can only find in Maitland's map the College Graveyard (ii, 28) as fixing the location of the second of Day's societies. When I was taken through this labyrinth of old streets, by a gentleman long resident in Blackfriars Bridge Road, he showed me, over the archway leading out of Winchester Yard, a piece of wall built into some business premises, the last poor remains of the Palace of their Lordships of Winchester. It was their town residence, matching that of the Archbishops of Canterbury, further up the river. In the Maitland-Stow *Survey of London*, (1738, ii, 29) it is said that "many of the buildings, especially the great Gateway, remained standing within the memory of man." "The great Hall was divided into floors and let in small tenements" (Loftie, p. 267). Part of this, or a tenement in it, was in Maitland's time registered as a meeting-house (Wilson, *Dissenting Chapels*, iv, 311-12). Probably we get thus as near as

3. Charles Skelton, after leaving Wesley, settled at a meeting in Globe Alley in 1753 (Atmore, *Memorial*, and Wilson, *Dissenting Chapels*, iv, 177).

4. Wesley preached at Winchester Yard, 25 September, 1739. Has the preaching room of 4 August, 1740 and later, Long Lane, been identified? We need not, I think, look too strictly to the Lane itself. A room *off* Long Lane, or *near* it, would often be loosely located as in the Lane.

we can hope to do to the third of Day's Societies.

Thus far Day's material: but it may be worth noting that Zoar Street, to which also my kind guide led me, preserves the name of another of the little Dissenting meetings which were wonderfully numerous in the narrow area of the Southwark of that time.⁵ The apex end of a wedge of lodging-house property, my friend told me, occupies pretty exactly the site of the chapel. It is associated with another of Wesley's preachers who left him. Wesley notes under 5 Nov., 1755, "In the afternoon I buried the remains of Samuel Larwood, who died of a fever, on Sunday morning; deeply concerned of his unfaithfulness, and yet hoping to find mercy. He had lately taken and repaired a building in Southwark, called by the venerable men who built it, Zoar." The famous Maze Pond Chapel is upon the ground we have been traversing; and Snows Fields, the meeting-house built in 1736 by Madam Ginn—excluded from Maze Pond—for her favourite (Sabellian) preacher, Mr. Sayer Rudd,⁶ and which came into Wesley's hands under circumstances which he notes under 6 August, 1743. It is still standing, externally very little altered, in the short street called Crosby Row, leading from Long Lane into Snowsfields. When I saw it last, it was in the occupation of the Salvation Army.⁷

One personal name above introduced will have arrested the notice of my fellow-workers: "Bro. John Coventry, at Lee's Court, Feversham, Kent." This is in 1755. Later, in the days when Maxfield was in painfully strained relations with Wesley, the latter graphically describes (25 Jan., 1763) how Mrs. Coventry, an adherent of Maxfield's, came in when Wesley was sitting with "many of our brethren," and dramatically "threw down her ticket with those of her husband, daughters and servants, and said they would hear two doctrines no longer. They had often said before, Mr. M— preached perfection, and Mr. W. pulled it down." He adds (under 28 April, 1763) that Mrs. C. had in the previous October cried out, "We will not be brow-beaten any longer. We will throw off the mask." (Cf. letter, J. W. to C. W., 8 Feb., 1763; *Works*, xii, 117). I can do nothing but conjecture whether she was the wife of Day's correspondent; and why John Coventry is at Lees Court, the seat of Lord Sondes. I can only set down

5. An old view of it will be found in Besant's *South London*, p. 257.

6. Rudd had married a sister of Blackwell, of Lewisham. He afterwards took Anglican orders.

7. A cutting referring to Snowsfields, from the *Universal Magazine*, 1771, is subjoined to this paper.

the fact ; it may lead another worker to further knowledge.

H. J. FOSTER.

From the *Universal Magazine*, August 14, 1771.

A shocking circumstance had very near happened laſt Sunday at a Methodiſt meeting, commonly known by the name of Madam Gin's, or the Old Meeting, in Snow's-fields, South-wark :—A certain coal-merchant in Long-lane, having for ſome time paſt laboured under a gloomy ſtate of mind, occaſioned, as is ſuppoſed, by too cloſe an attendance on an illiterate enthuſiaſt, this perſon, with his wife and four children, being at the aforeſaid meeting on Sunday laſt, and the preacher, who is a writing-maſter, taking his text from the 137th pſalm, verſe the laſt, 'Happy ſhall he be who taketh and daſheth thy little ones againſt the ſtones ;' the coal-merchant ſaid out aloud, 'Come, come, we have had enough of that, proceed to ſomething elſe ;' and, preſently after, the preacher reciting the text, the coal-merchant ſuddenly caught up one of the leaſt of his children, and had, in all probability, daſhed it againſt the floor, had not a luſty man providentially interſered ; who, after having ſaved the child, cloſed with, and took the unhappy father clear out of the meeting.—Pity it is, that while men are never ſuppoſed to be too completely qualified for the management of worldly buſineſs, yet in ſpiritual concerns, as if anything would do for that, perſons ſhould be allowed to preach, ſo profoundly ignorant, as often not to diſtinguiſh between the literal and figurative meaning of the ſacred text.

WILLIAM PRITCHARD OF BODLEWFAWR.

In Benson's *Apology for the Methodiſts*, p. 386, footnote, there is the following quotation from the *Tour through Wales* by Dr. Aikins : "I am acquainted with no place the manners of whoſe inhabitants are ſo unexceptionable (as far at leaſt as a ſtranger is enabled to judge of them) as Amlwch ; and the favourable opinion which I was led to entertain of them in viſiting the town laſt year, is confirmed by what I have obſerved at

present. Not a single instance have I known of drunkenness, not one quarrel have I witnessed, during two very crowded market days, and one of them a day of unusual indulgence, that I passed at this place; and I believe no gaol, or bridewell, or house of confinement, exists in the town or neighbourhood. Most of the miners are Methodists, and to the prevalence of this religious sect is chiefly to be attributed the good order that is so conspicuous." This testimony is all the more striking when we recall the evil manners of a previous generation of islanders, and the sufferings they inflicted on those who brought to them the gospel of goodwill. The *Journals* of the Wesleys afford instances of such persecutions, though not of such grievous wrongs as were suffered by the subject of the present sketch. Yet here, as in other scenes of riot, Wesley found true friends and co-workers. The grateful mention of Mr. Holloway,¹ the honest exciseman, whose quiet home afforded the evangelist a study and retreat (*Journal*, 3 Mar., 1748; 25 Mar., 1 Apr., 1750), Mr. Ellison, the clergyman, and Mr. Jones, with both of whom the Wesleys took sweet counsel, Mr. Jenkin Morgan, who acted as guide and host (*W.H.S. Proc.*, vi, 118-120), and above all of Mr. Pritchard, form pleasant reading.

It was on Tuesday afternoon, 25 March, 1750, that Wesley, with much reluctance, went to conduct service at Bodlewfawr Farm. He feared that none would be able to interpret, and therefore few to understand his message; but the effect of his ministry was surprising. The congregation was the largest he had seen in Anglesea; "a considerable part of them understood English tolerably well, and the looks, sighs, and gestures of those that did not, showed that God was speaking to their hearts. It was a glorious opportunity; the whole congregation seemed to be melted down, so little do we know the extent of God's power." Had the preacher desired an interpreter there was one at hand, for his host was a good Welsh, English and Latin scholar. The toils and sufferings of this heroic man would surely have adorned the pages of the *Arminian Magazine*, had that serial been then in existence, and a brief tribute to his memory may be, perhaps, permitted to appear in the *Proceedings*.

Mr. Pritchard was born at Brynhydd, in Carnarvonshire, in the year 1702, of parents who were able to give him a better education than fell to the lot of most farmers' sons. In due time he married and settled as tenant of a farm at Llangybi, near

1. Hopper calls him Holiday.

Pwllheli. Though he became the father of a family he gave little heed to religion, but much to life's lower pleasures, being a constant patron of the public-house. In those days it was the custom of the locality to go from the Sunday afternoon service at church to the village inn, and spend hours in drinking and conversation. One day farmer Pritchard stayed much beyond his usual hour, and it was dark when, with unsteady step, he turned homeward. Ere long he lost his way, and wandered for a considerable time, until at last he saw a light in the distance and made for it. He found himself near the house of a pious Nonconformist whom he knew. He turned away and started once more for home ; but, strange to say, a second, third and fourth time he found himself near the same house. He deemed that there was something supernatural in this, and standing outside the door he heard his pious neighbour conduct family worship. The prayer touched the listener's heart, and walking quietly away when the devotion closed, he found his way home without the slightest difficulty. This was the beginning of a new life.

Up to this date Mr. Pritchard had been a churchman, and as such he was appointed to ask his vicar to permit the establishment in the parish of one of the circulating schools which were being organized under the influence of Rev. Griffith Jones. The vicar not only refused, but raised the people against the good farmer and Mr. Jenkin Morgan the schoolmaster. The most outrageous reports were spread about concerning the two worthies as soon as the school was commenced in the kitchen at Glasfryfawr. About this time some remarks made by Mr. Pritchard concerning a sermon preached by "the notorious Chancellor Owen," led to his being proceeded against in the Spiritual Court (the remarks having been made in the churchyard) and afterwards in the Civil Court. The case lingered on for two or three years, and at last was decided in the defendant's favour. But the Chancellor's influence was sufficient to induce the landlord to give Mr. Pritchard notice to quit, and to prevent his obtaining another farm in the county. He therefore crossed over to Anglesea and became the tenant of Plaspenmyndd Farm. But he was now recognised as a leading Dissenter, and it soon was noised abroad that anybody holding any intercourse with him would become deranged. His life and property were in danger, his farming implements were smashed, his hay stolen, and his servants shot at. One night, during his absence from home, a crowd of 250 persons invaded the house and demanded of Mrs. Pritchard (whose only companions at the moment were the child at her

breast and one servant girl) where "her roundhead" was, for they had come to kill him. Disappointed of their prey, they smashed every window in the house, and destroyed everything in the stables and cow-houses, beside doing all manner of mischief. He was obliged to bring some of the ringleaders to trial, and certain of these were fittingly punished. Yet the advantage lay with his enemies, for they persuaded the landlord to turn him out of his farm. He now removed to another farm in the parish of Llanddaniel. But change of place brought no change of treatment; the clergy denounced him as a heretic and schismatic, and hounded on the mob to attack him. One villain, armed with a great knife, entered the house one day for the purpose of killing him; but finding Mr. Pritchard at worship he concluded to stay the deed until the "Amen" was said. He was so touched by the prayer as to confess with shame his murderous design and seek the good man's pardon. It was while Mr. Pritchard was living at Bodlewfawr, and was subjected to such attacks by the clergy and the mob, that John Wesley preached at the farm, with the wonderful effect mentioned in his *Journals*. The following Sunday afternoon he again ministered there, and his notice of the service is, "I found the same spirit as before among this loving, simple people. Many of our hearts burned within us; and I felt what I spoke, 'The Kingdom of God is within us.'" It is almost certain that the service mentioned under the date, Friday, 6 April, was also held at Bodlewfawr.

Six months after Wesley's visit Mr. Pritchard was compelled once more to leave his farm, the landlord fearing to retain a tenant who was so generally regarded as a dangerous schismatic. It now seemed as if he must become a homeless wanderer, as no landlord would receive him; but by the good providence of God he was led to apply to a gentleman of independent thought, who, finding that Mr. Pritchard had lost three farms solely because he was a Dissenter said, "I will let you as many farms as you like." From this generous man Mr. Pritchard obtained the lease of Clwchdyrnog farm, and here, for the most part in peace, he spent the remainder of his useful life. That life closed on 9 March, 1773. No greater testimony to his worth and zeal can be given than the words of his biographer: "The history of William Pritchard is the history of the rise of Nonconformity in Anglesea."

RICHARD BUTTERWORTH.

[A note on William Pritchard is given in *Proc.*, vi, 54.]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

424. WHEN WAS THE TITLE "WESLEYAN METHODIST" FIRST USED? In the year 1747 several letters and communications appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of a character distinctly hostile to the followers of Wesley. The Westley Hall scandal at Salisbury was reported in the *Magazine*, and a letter subsequently appeared exonerating the Salisbury Methodists from all connection with the affair. The Editor, in inserting this letter, refers to it as an apology for the *Wesleyan Methodists*. Is this the first instance of the term being used? Rev. F. C. Wright wrote a paper on the origin of the name "Methodist" (*Proc.*, iii, p. 10), but did not touch on the double name.—*Mr. J. T. Lightwood*.

In the article on Thomas' Day in the present issue of the *Proceedings* it will be noticed that the compound name 'Wesleyan Methodism' is used in the year 1757. But it will be observed that the use of the term, both by the Editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine* and by Thomas Day, is quite different from that of modern times. With them the term distinguishes the followers of Wesley from those earlier bodies to whom the word 'Methodist' had been applied (see *A New History of Methodism*, i, 140): nowadays it is employed of the members of the Mother Methodist Church to distinguish them from the members of the churches which have originated from her.—*J.C.N.*

425. "WHIZNOWISKY," *Journal*, 13 February, 1761—I cannot yet identify the verse, as to the author and work, but the following information will throw some light on the force of the allusion. "Whiznowisky" is not, as might be thought, a coined name, but that of an historical character.

In 1668, the ex-queen Christina of Sweden was a candidate for the elective crown of Poland. But, "the Poles, who had their own reasons for wishing for a weak King, elected Duke Wisnowiski, a Pole, whose three years' reign was nothing but a sea of troubles with which he was incapable of coping."—Bain's *Christina*, ch. ix, p. 321.

In the *History of Poland* in Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*, p. 200, he is described, under the name of "Wisnowiezki,"

as "infirm in body and weak in mind, without influence, because without courage and riches"—"an object of somewhat contemptuous homage." Thus the contrast is one not merely of names, but also of characters.—*Mr. C. Lawrence Ford, B.A.*

Chambers *Encyclopædia*, in the article *Poland*, gives the following particulars concerning him :—

"Michael Wisniowiecki (1668-1674), son of a famous general, but a weak and very insignificant man, was elected King—it is said almost against his own will. He was a mere puppet in the hands of his subjects. A war with Turkey was concluded by the ignominious peace of Buczacz in 1672, by which the town of Kamieniec remained in the hands of the Ottomans. But the senate rejected the treaty; the Polish army was reinforced, and the command given to the celebrated John Sobieski, who routed the Turks at Choczim the following year. Michael died suddenly in 1674."—*J.C.N.*

426. MR.—, OF CONGLETON.—(*Journal*, 30 March, 1787).—"In the evening I preached at Congleton . . . Here I found my coeval, Mr. —, two months (I think) younger than me, just as a lamp going out for want of oil, gently sliding into a better world. He sleeps always, only waking now and then, just long enough to say 'I am happy.'"

The individual referred to was Mr. Samuel Troutbeck, an apothecary, who was one of the first to join the Society in Congleton. His name appears in the earliest records, and forms one of the twenty-three names in the list which bears the date, 1759. He had the distinction of providing the first chapel, a room at the back of his house being fitted up as a home for the Society. As an apothecary he possessed a degree of fame, and some of his mixtures became very popular. At the present time a chemist's shop in the town,—occupied by a descendant of his,—displays in its window a board advertising "Troutbeck's Balsam and Ointment." On making enquiry, I was informed that this medicine was made from Samuel Troutbeck's recipe, and that through the years it had commanded a fair sale as an admirable preparation. John Wesley was making his twenty-second visit to Congleton; it is not surprising, therefore, that he should know the age of so old and prominent a member.—*Rev. Thomas E. Freeman.*

427. JOHN BENNET.—Warburton, the Cheshire village in which John Bennet lived and preached, after his separation from

Wesley, is not far from my home, and in the summer of 1909 I set myself the task of discovering and recording any local records or traditions that might exist concerning him.

There appears to be no entry in the registers or other parish books of Warburton or Lymm, that refers to him. Imagining that he would probably be buried at the place of his death, I searched the graveyards and registers diligently, but afterwards learned that he was buried at Chinley. I could find no tradition of any chapel having been built for him at Warburton, and there is no building existing which in any way resembles one. From a passage in *Memorials of Mrs. Grace Bennet*, by Wm. Bennet, it would seem that the "chapel" at Warburton was a room in Bennet's own house. I think this was probably the case, as there is no allusion to any chapel at Warburton in the volumes devoted to *Cheshire Nonconformity*.

The only local reference to Bennet which I have been able to discover, belongs to the strenuous days when he was facing the toils of his Methodist "Round." His district took in a large part of Cheshire and S. Lancashire, and included Warburton. In an old account book discovered in a parish chest at Thelwall a few years ago, and now preserved in the Warrington Library, there is the following entry:—"Feb. 17, 1748. A Methodist meeting at Thelwall Hall, where a man called Bennet held forth."

There has never been a Methodist cause at Thelwall, and this solitary reference is puzzling, especially as locating the meeting at the Hall. Thelwall is about three miles from Warburton.

The reasons which led Bennet to settle at Warburton are not clear. It is a scattered hamlet, and its population could hardly have been greater then than now. It has a quaint old church, part timber and part brick, which attracts many visitors, but the village as a whole is flat and uninteresting.

The references seem to show that he formed the Methodist meeting at Warburton into an Independent church, he "being solemnly set apart to the pastoral office among them." Here he laboured about five years, preaching also in neighbouring villages, and here he died, on 24 May, 1759.—*Mr. Arthur Mounfield*.

[Is Mr. Mounfield right in thinking that Bennet died at Warburton, though buried at Chinley? In the *Methodist*

Recorder of 7 November, 1901, a very full, illustrated article on Peak Methodism by Rev. R. W. G. Hunter was given. He says, "She—i.e., Grace [Murray] Bennet—sleeps with her husband in the Independent burial ground at Chinley, and their names can be read on the flat tombstone that has been placed upon their grave. The inscription reads thus:— 'In memory of JOHN BENNET, of Lee End, who departed this life, May 24, 1759, in the 45th Year of his age; also of his Relict, MRS. GRACE BENNET who survived him 44 years and died in the Lord, February 23rd, 1803, in the 89th Year of her Age.'" Does not this suggest that Bennet died at Lee End? A view of Lee End, the home of the Bennets, is given in the *Meth. Recorder* of 25th Sep., 1902.—H.J.F.]

428. ANTI-METHODIST PUBLICATIONS.—THE PASTOR, ADDRESSED TO THE REV. JOHN WESLEY. By J. Hough, of the Inner Temple, in which the Character of that Fallacious Casuist is accurately delineated.

Trace him through every stage of Life, from Youth to Hoary Age, Self Confidence, Chicanery and Pride, mark all his steps.

London: Published by Mr. Williams, Bookseller, near St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street. (N.D.)

I can find no reference to this publication, which I have recently acquired, in Green's *Anti-Meth. Bibliography*—It is doubtless contemporary with Wesley. There are several pages of prefatory matter, followed by 22 pages of verse. The whole is entirely free from the vulgarity and indecency that mark many such writings. Strange to say, the poem has very little to say about Wesley directly, and is mainly occupied by a description of the Pastor, as he is and as he should be, couched in terms that Wesley would approve.

The last page is occupied by

"THE APPENDAGE

In evidence that this publication is neither the effect of spleen, nor private animosity, I protest I have no personal pique again (*sic*) Mr. Wesley, or any other Clergyman: Those who act consonant to their Sacred Function, I esteem and reverence. But when Fanaticism and Libertinism are perpetually making inroads upon us: He who can behold with indifference the impending danger, must be an Enemy to Religion, and a bad member to Society."—*Rev. F. F. Bretherton, B.A.*

429. SAMUEL WESLEY, SENIOR: HIS LIFE OF CHRIST.—Some time ago, in looking over a bound set of poetical pamphlets of the 18th Century, I stumbled upon one entitled *Poetae Britannici*. London: Printed for A. Roper at the Black Boy, and R. Basset at the Mitre, both in Fleet Street, and sold by Mr. Jefferies, Bookseller, in Cambridge, 1700. It is anonymous, and there are two mottoes from Horace on the

title page.

The Poem, which is in the then fashionable heroic metre, à la Pope, has the following lines :—

“ But how could W—st—y in Heroick Dream,
When N—by stood by, and Christ’s his Theme?
That Patron might encourage him to sing,
But sure the Saviour clip’d his daring wing.
Expound his Doctrine, not his life Expose,
Desist from Epick, and exhort in Prose.”

Here W—st—y is evidently Samuel Wesley, Senr., whose *Life of Christ* (1694) is entitled *An Heroick Poem*.

N—by is as evidently the Marquis of Normanby, S.W.’s friend and patron. (See Tyerman’s *Life of S.W.*, p. 195, &c.) The spelling “Westley” or “Westly” is the well-known variation in the family name, but that recognized in the Work itself is “Wesley.”

In the first line “Dream,” with the capital, at first sight looks like a noun, with “Heroick” for its epithet; but that will not construe; and it is clear from the use of the capital with the verb “Expose” below, that it is only a mark of emphasis, “Dream” being a verb, and “Heroick” (for “Heroics,” as, *e.g.*, Physick was used for Physics) a noun.

The criticism is manifestly in disparagement of the “poetry,” of which Tyerman was no judge. There is no injustice in this; there may be something like a spark of poetic fire in the interspersed odes, but the body of the work is not in any sense worthy to be called Poetry. For Tyerman’s estimate see *Life of S.W.* pp. 164, 166. That of S.W. Junr. was more correct :—

“With Vida’s¹ piety, but not his fire.”—*Mr. C. Lawrence Ford, B.A.*

430. DR. THOMAS COKE’S CONTRIBUTION TO FOREIGN MISSIONS.—

Extracts from Dr. Coke’s Missionary Report, from 1787 to 1793 :—

					£	s.	d.
Expended in all	...	...	...	...	2788	12	8½
Received in all	...	...	...	...	620	15	6

Balance due to me 2167 17 2½

This whole account has been examined and approved by us, John Pawson, Alex. Mather, Will. Thompson, Thos. Rutherford, Thomas Rankin, Joseph Cole, Will. Blagbourne,

1. Vida (1480-1566) Bp. of Alba, wrote the *Christiad*, in Latin.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

John Braithwaite, George Whitfield.

To the account as stated above, I beg leave to add a few particulars :—

	£	s.	d.
Mortgages due to me on chapels in Barbadoes, St. Vincent's and Nevis, and on Missionary Dwelling Houses in Tortola	750	0	0
A mortgage on the Chapel in Kingston, Jamaica	500	0	0
My own subscription to the work	917	17	2½
	<hr/>		
In all	2167	17	2½
Balance due to me when the account was finally settled before the Committee ...	2167	17	2½
Balance of the account at the commencement of the Subscriptions and Disbursements in August, 1794	0	0	0

It was not my design to receive any compensation for any part of the Balance; but the Conference held in Antigua, in February, 1793, very earnestly pressed me to accept of mortgages to the amount of £750, and prevailed; and the Trustees of our Chapel in Kingston, Jamaica, have informed me since my return from the West Indies, that they have executed proper writings to make the chapel and premises responsible to me for the £500 which at different times I advanced out of my own property, to save the chapel from being sold.

The Hague,

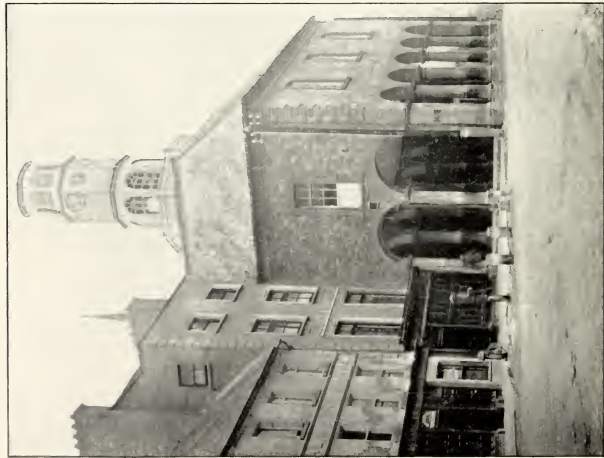
THOMAS COKE.

17 March, 1794.

—Rev. John Bell.

431. MRS. VENN (*Proceedings*, vii, pp. 77-8).—"Mr. Lefevre, now a widower—his pious wife was an intimate friend of Miss Bosanquet, afterwards Mrs. Fletcher, and of Miss Bishop, subsequently the wife of Rev. Mr. Venn."—*Wesley Banner*, 1849, note by Editor to letter, C. Wesley to his wife, June 28 [1758].





THE THOLSEL, KILKENNY.



ARTHUR KEENE'S HOUSE

IRISH METHODIST NOTES.

[Continued from *Proceedings*, v, 67 ; vi, 90.]

(I.) ONE OF WESLEY'S DUBLIN HOMES.

Wesley writes in the *Journal*, 5 April, 1787: "I then retired to my lodgings, which were at Arthur Keen's [Keene's], about half a mile out of town; a pleasant, healthy spot, where were peace and love and plenty of all things."

The house is No. 46, Charlemont Street, and it will be seen from the photograph that shops have been built in front of the lower story on either side of the hall door. The locality, which has completely changed its character, is no longer suburban, and to those who know it to-day, Wesley's description of its residential amenities reads strangely quaint.

One interesting point in connection with the house is that it was here Wesley prepared for publication his pamphlet: *Conjectures concerning the Nature of Future Happiness. Translated from the French of Mons. Bonnett, of Geneva.* This was printed by a well known Dublin Methodist, Bennett Dugdale, 150, Capel Street, and the following note appears on the back of the title page: "To the Reader, Dublin, April 7, 1787. I am happy in communicating to men of sense in this kingdom, and at a very low price, one of the most sensible tracts I ever read. John Wesley."

As to Arthur Keene, see Crookshank's *History of Methodism in Ireland*, and *Proc.*, v, 74.

(II.) THE THOLSEL IN KILKENNY.

"We rode to Kilkenny, one of the pleasantest and the most ancient cities in the kingdom; and not inferior to any at all in wickedness, or in hatred to *this way*. I was therefore glad of a permission to preach in the Town Hall, where a small, serious company attended in the evening." (*Journal*, 10 July, 1762.)

The present Town Hall or Tholsel (*i.e.*, Custom House), as it was called, is the third that has been erected in Kilkenny, and the building was completed during the Mayoralty of Walter Blunt, in the year before Wesley's visit referred to. It is the

most prominent building in the High Street, and is stated to have been designed by an Italian architect.

(III.) DUNMORE CAVE (*Journal*, 12 July, 1762).
Seven miles from Kilkenny and not "three or four."

(IV.) DANT'S [DAUNT'S] BRIDGE, CORK
(*Journal*, 20 and 21 May, 1750.)

I have lately got a lithographed copy of a contemporary map of Cork (1750) which enables this site to be identified. Not long after Wesley was burnt in effigy the bridge was built over, and it, or its site—for there is no trace of the bridge left—now forms part of the leading thoroughfare in Cork.

D. B. BRADSHAW.

(V.) UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF WESLEY.

Rev. R. H. Ludlow, of Stradbally, has kindly written me that he had seen three letters of John Wesley's in possession of T. W. Webber, Esq., D.L., near Stradbally. Two of these were written to Mrs. Tighe, of Rosanna, Mr. Webber's great grandmother, and one to a Mr. Cafe or Case, at Rosanna. He had got the three letters photographed, as also an oil painting of Mr. Tighe, and one of the Rev. Thomas Kelly, who wrote Hymns 209, 784 and 917 in the *Methodist Hymn Book*, and who was married to a daughter of Mrs. Tighe. This latter lady also painted a very fine copy of the original portrait of Wesley by Romney. The copy is hanging in Mr. Webber's hall. Mr. Ludlow sent me copies of the photographs of these letters and of the portraits of Mr. Kelly and Mrs. Tighe, which I have in my possession.

The following are copies of the letters :

"Dear Madam,

"I have no doubt at all of the uprightness of Mr. Tozer and his wife, but I have more acquaintance wth Mr. Harper. He is a truly good man and has a considerable share of knowledge, so that if he was willing to take the charge of this little school, I know of no one that is more likely to promote the design of it. I am,

"Dear Madam,

"Your very affectionate Servant,

"Bristol 2nd Oct. 1787.

JOHN WESLEY."

"Next week I expect to be in London."

PROCEEDINGS.

"London, 7 Feb., 1789.

"Dear Madam,

"It would not easily be, that I should refuse any thing which *you* desired. Therefore I have sat four times to Mr. Romney, and he has finished the Picture. It is thought to be a good likeness, and many of my Friends have desired an engraving taken from it. But I answer "The Picture was not mine but *yours*. Therefore I can Do [no] thing without your Consent." But if you have no objection, then I will employ an engraver that I am well assured will do it justice. Wishing every blessing to you and all your Family.

"I remain,

"Dear Madam,

"Your affectionate Servant,

JOHN WESLEY."

"London, Feb^y, 1789.

"Dear Abraham,

"I make no doubt but He that loved you enabled you to say Yea, from the ground of thy heart. "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, Blessed be the name of the Lord." Especially as the Lord made her ready before He took her to himself. But altho it has pleased God to remove her, you cannot quit the task which He has assigned you. You are still to watch over both the Children and the infant Society, and in due time God will provide you with another Helper. I am

"Your affectionate Brother,

"J. WESLEY."

The second letter is specially interesting as in harmony with Wesley's statement in his *Journal* 5 Jan., 1789, and as putting it beyond all doubt that "Mrs. T——" was Mrs. Tighe; adding moreover to our stock of knowledge the fact that it was paid for by Mrs. Tighe, to whom therefore it originally belonged.

C. H. CROOKSHANK.

[Stevenson, *City Road*, p. 99, and *Wesley Family*, p. 352, makes two guesses, both wrong, as the letter proves; in the former making the name Mrs. Tyler, wife of the poor steward of City Road, residing in the house next to Wesley's; in the latter, "one Mrs. Tollemague." The engraver whom Wesley so fully recommends will be Jonathan Spilsbury, who produced a mezzotint in 1789. (J. G. Wright, *Proc.*, iii, 189.)]

WESLEY AND THE "DRY BONES OF ALDRICH."

LOGIC AT OXFORD.

In his *Journal* (13 March, 1747) Wesley wonders "That any one has patience to learn logic, but those who do it on a principle of conscience; unless he learns it as three in four of the young gentlemen in the Universities do; that is, goes about it and about it, without understanding one word of the matter."

In Amhurst's *Terræ Filius*, No. 20 (1721), there is a long account of the method of disputations at Oxford. I extract the following: "This art of chopping logic is the easiest in the world; for it requires neither natural parts nor acquired learning to make any one a complete master of it; a good memory is the only one thing necessary to arrive at a perfection in it" "it is no more than a formal repetition of a set of syllogisms upon some ridiculous question in logick, which they get by rote, or perhaps, only read out of their caps, which lie before them with their notes in them."

"These commodious sets of syllogisms are called strings, and descend from undergraduate to undergraduate, in a regular succession; so that when any candidate for a degree is to exercise his talent in argumentation, he has nothing else to do, but to enquire amongst his friends for a string upon such or such a question, and to get it by heart, or read it over in his cap, as aforesaid. I have in my custody a book of strings upon most or all of the questions discussed in a certain college very famous for their ratiocination faculty; on the first leaf of which are these words, *ex dono Richardi P——e primæ classis benefactoris munificentissimi*. From whence it appears that this Richard P——e was a great string maker, and by his beneficent labours had furnished his successors, in the first class, with a sufficient inheritance of syllogisms to be as good logicians as himself, without taking any pains." Amhurst gives a sample of these "strings" in No. 21 of *Terræ Filius*.

Wesley's contemporary at Oxford, John Gambold, says of him: "The first thing he struck at in young men was that indolence which would not submit to close thinking."

It is interesting to find Wesley anticipating the judgement of the late Rector of Lincoln, Canon Overton, the Church

historian, in relation to the respective value of Sanderson's *Lectures on Logic*, and Aldrich's *Artis Logicæ Compendium*. Dr. Overton says: "Bishop Robt. Sanderson (Lincoln) was Fellow of Lincoln for thirteen years (1606-1619) and his College Lectures as Reader of Logic in the House had been the standard work of Logic at Oxford until they were superseded by the far inferior manual of Dean Aldrich." Wesley appears to have been awake to the value of Sanderson's work—although he based the first edition of his *Compendium of Logic* on Aldrich¹—for in the third and enlarged edition of his *Compendium* (of which the writer possesses a copy, from Thomas Marriott's collection) he appends eight pages "Of the manner of using logic, extracted from Bishop Sanderson," and concludes with a reference to two of his own sermons as illustrative of Sanderson's methods—"the sermon on *The Means of Grace*, and the *Sermon on Enthusiasm*; another example of a simple Theme."

There can be no doubt that as a lecturer in logic, Wesley, like Whateley a century later (as the reforming Rector of Lincoln, Mark Pattison, says), "applied common sense to elucidate the old logic, and breathed life into the dry bones of Aldrich." (*Oxford Essays*, 1856, p. 261.)

There was a Latin eulogy on Dean Aldrich by Samuel Wesley, of which I have a translation by the Rev. John Hampson.

OFT as fond memory to the mind renews
That cheerful look benign, that sprightly air;
The piercing eyes illumed with science views,
And the fair honours of thy silver hair;
Still as she thinks how oft our artless mirth,
With placid smiles o'erspread thy manly brow;
Where decent dignity, of heavenly birth,
And sparkling wit in happy union grew;
Dissolved in tears, her elegiac strains,
Aldrich, to thee the Muse indebted pays;
Indebted still the grateful Muse remains,
Yet the sad strain 'twere impious not to raise.

Dean Henry Aldrich (1647-1710) was much more than a logician. Oxford possesses specimens of his skill as an architect. He collected materials for a History of Music. He was one of the editors of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*.²

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

1. Wesley translated Aldrich's *Logic*, whilst waiting in a little cottage on the Welsh coast, 24 March, 1750.

2. In *Proc.*, IV, 74, a well-known epigram by Aldrich is quoted..

MR. PETER WHITFIELD, HEBRAIST,
OF LIVERPOOL.

(*Journal*, 25 April, 1757; *Proceedings*, iv, 110, also 151, A.G.)

The following letters appeared in the *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury* of 1908-9.

Sir,—In the archives of the Liverpool Public Library, one of the volumes of the Holt and Gregson MSS. devoted to eminent and remarkable persons, contains the following quaint eulogy of this old Liverpool worthy:—

"1758, July 8, died Mr. Peter Whitfield, sugar baker, in the 73rd year of his age; after a truly Christian struggle thro' a life of more difficulties and struggles than generally fall to the lot of one man. In many adverse circumstances in which his patience and virtue were put to the severest trial, he acted with eminent integrity and courage. He was emphatically the father of his children and of his children's children. He spent his life in a constant endeavour to support a large family by his diligence, and to embellish his mind with various kinds of literature; and succeeded so well in both, that his example may at the same time encourage the efforts of emulation and put the indolent patterns and excusers of ignorance to the blush. He thought the moments of life too valuable to be wasted on trifles, and made the study of languages or the investigation of important truths, the diversion and amusement of his leisure hours. Considering how much business he had to do for this world and another, how many great truths were yet undiscovered, how many of nature's treasures were unexplored, which the God of nature had laid deep to excite our curiosity and diligence, and how much the human mind stood in need of cultivation to prepare it for state of immortality, he could not with ungrateful indolence and unfeeling indifference drone away his life. His works are before the public, and will speak for themselves; the critical skill that he had acquired in the Hebrew language through a diligent but late application to it, may be seen in his *Treatise on the Vowel Points*, to the merits of which some very learned gentlemen have borne honorable testimony.

"His other publications were chiefly controversial and religious, on which all men will judge according to their several principles, opinions, and prejudices. . . . Let the living grow

wiser by the example of the deceased ; let them imitate his many excellences ; and if the eye of observation has discovered that he was not free from the imperfections of human nature, let charity draw a veil over his foibles, and bury them in oblivion. His publications were *A Dissertation upon the Hebrew Vowel Points ; The Christianity of the New Testament ; An Essay upon the Supremacy of the Church of Rome ;* and several controversial tracts.

“Mr. Whitfield was born at Tue Brook, West Derby ; he had a classical education, but did not begin to study the Hebrew language till after he was fifty years of age.”

The copy of Whitfield's *Hebrew Vowel Points* that is in the Reference Library contains a bookseller's note to the effect that “The author was a printer in Liverpool and it is believed, was the only one in the town who then had a fount of Hebrew type” This copy formerly belonged to another local worthy, the late Dr. T. Inman, the distinguished mythologist and author of *Ancient Faiths*.—Yours, &c.,

PETER COWELL,

Chief Librarian.

William Brown-street.

Sir,—I have collected a few notes about Peter Whitfield, and I venture to hope that you will print them. The statement by Whitfield that he was a mechanic must not be taken to mean that he was actually a working man at the time he compiled his book on the Hebrew vowel-points. The trade he may have served an apprenticeship to cannot at the moment be stated, but when he published the above-named work (1748) he was a sugar baker, or, as it would be called to-day, a sugar refiner. There is ample evidence to prove this. (1) In the list of contributors, in 1750, to the building of a new Liverpool Infirmary is the name of Peter Whitfield, sugar baker, as a donor of £3 3s., and an annual subscriber of £2 2s. In passing, I may remark that these sums cannot be regarded as the contributions of a working mechanic in the middle of the eighteenth century. (2) In the list of wills proved at Chester he is described as Peter Whitfield, of Liverpool, sugar baker ; the will was proved in 1758. I am pleased to be able to state that arrangements have been made for a copy of the will to be obtained and presented to this library.

Peter Whitfield Brancker, who was Mayor of Liverpool in 1801, was a grandson of the above Peter Whitfield. It is interesting, rather than relevant, to state that the son of P. W. Brancker—namely, P. W. Brancker, jun., was also a sugar-refiner,

being a member of the firm of Brancker and Co., and possibly (I cannot say definitely) continuing a business established by his great-grandfather.

Whitfield's most severe critic, Dr. Jefferies, sarcastically refers to him as a sugar-baker, and mentions a rumour that Whitfield "was fifty-five years old before he understood the Hebrew alphabet." On the other hand, Whitfield states in the preface to his work, that he was prompted by "a great desire to revive and improve the slender foundation of Hebrew learning I had laid at school, which I did as soon as I had opportunity." Without suggesting a doubt of Whitfield's statement, it would be interesting to discover at which elementary school in Liverpool, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Hebrew formed part of the curriculum.

In an article on the Rev. John Brekell, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the writer refers to Whitfield having left the Presbyterians (Whitfield himself has stated that he conformed to the Church of England), and your correspondent, Mr. H. D. Roberts, states that he was a member of the Kaye-street Chapel, of which Brekell was the minister for forty years. Brekell's *Essay on the Hebrew Tongue*, was, so we are told, a reply to Whitfield's *Dissertation on the Hebrew Vowel-points*, although published ten years after it. Brekell died in 1769, aged seventy-two, and Whitfield died in, or before, 1758. It is more than probable that Brekell was Whitfield's junior by many years. Therefore, while Brekell may have taught Whitfield when the latter started to "revive and improve his slender foundation of Hebrew learning," he could not have been one of his teachers at school. Now Brekell's colleague and predecessor in the ministry of Kaye-street Chapel was the Rev. Christopher Bassnett, "who assisted in establishing a school for the free education of poor children in Liverpool in 1716." Bassnett was an able man, an intimate friend of Matthew Henry, and it is very probable knew Hebrew. I have somewhat laboured this point for the purpose of suggesting to Mr. H. D. Roberts (and I hope that he will pardon me for doing so) that if in his researches for the bi-centenary history of Kaye-street Chapel he can discover any information about the educational work which may have been associated with that chapel, he may be able to throw a flood of light on the early career of Peter Whitfield and on elementary education in Liverpool in the early years of the eighteenth century.

Before Whitfield published his work he appears to have

shown it to many friends. Amongst these were Da. Jefferies, a teacher of the French language in Liverpool, and "another person somewhat versed in Hebrew," and he entertained them "near five hours, at his own house, with a pompous show of his manuscript work." When, about twelve months after this incident, Whitfield issued his proposals for printing his work by subscription, Jefferies issued a scurrilous attack on the work in a pamphlet of eight pages, entitled *Advice to the Hebrew Attempter, Mr. P.W.*; or, plain hints of the insignificance of his dissertation, &c. (Liverpool, John Sadler, 1748). To this attack Whitfield replied in what Jefferies described as "a twopenny sheet, for be it known he is yet but a twopenny printer." The title of Jefferies's rejoinder to Whitfield can be gauged from the title of his second pamphlet, *Farther Advice to the Hebrew Attempter, Mr. P.W.*; or, plainer hints of the insignificance of his Dissertation, &c. (8pp. Liverpool, John Sadler, 1748).

Now that interest has been roused in this subject I hope that an effort will be made to procure for our local libraries a complete set of the contributions to this controversy. Copies of Whitfield's work on the Hebrew vowel points are in our local libraries, but the only copies of Jefferies's pamphlets that I know of are in the possession of Mr. A. H. Arkle, Birkenhead. I have never seen a copy of Whitfield's "twopenny sheet" which he issued as a reply to Jefferies.—Yours, &c.,

Athenæum, Liverpool.

GEORGE T. SHAW.

Sir,—There were many attempts by Dissenters, especially after the emergence and crystallisation of what was called "the peculiar doctrine of the Church of England," associated historically with the name of Dr. Sacheverell, to raise schools of a more broadly Christian type, in which no Christian sectarianisms should be inculcated. But it is not probable that Peter Whitfield went to one of these very elementary schools. The source of his original Hebrew was, most likely, some Nonconformist divine, and at a time anterior to the ministry of Christopher Bassnett.—Yours, &c.,

H. D. ROBERTS.

Sir,—In continuation of my letter which appeared in your issue of December 27th, I beg leave to say that a full abstract of Peter Whitfield's will, dated 23rd December, 1752, with a codicil dated 17th June, 1758, and proved at Chester 6th September,

1758, has been presented to this library. From this will it is possible to construct a tolerably complete account of Whitfield's family. Among his bequests are two Hebrew books. The will also shows that he owned a considerable amount of property in various parts of the town.—Yours, &c.,

GEO. T. SHAW.

Athenæum, Liverpool, Jan. 1.

LANGHAM ROW.

The Rev. Marmaduke Riggall, whose home as a boy was at Ulceby, near Alford, extracts for us some interesting notes on Wesley's last visit to the neighbourhood, 2 and 3 July, 1788, from a paper by the Rev. Henry Kendall, of the P.M. church, published in the *P.M. Magazine* for March, 1850.

One of the earliest asylums of Methodism in the eastern part of Lincolnshire was Langham Row, a secluded hamlet, consisting of about a dozen houses, one of which was [the home of Mr. George Robinson, for many years one of the stewards of the Grimsby Circuit, near Hogsthorpe, about seven or eight miles from Alford.—M.R.] Whatever might be his subsequent career, Robinson was sincere and useful at the time referred to. He entertained the preachers at his house, and erected upon his premises a sanctuary for the propagation of the doctrines he had himself embraced. [This preaching house fell down about the year 1895, just after I entered upon the superintendency of the Alford Circuit. I secured portions of the woodwork of the pulpit in which Wesley preached.—M.R.] To this humble centre every Sunday great companies from Hogsthorpe, Anderby, Mumby, Cumberworth, for many years resorted to hear the Word. It called forth the devotion of a pious leader, who for many years travelled a long distance to meet his class there. The Quarterly Meetings of the Circuit were sometimes held there. But it declined, and was finally closed, when Huttoft, Stoothby and the villages above mentioned, each obtained a chapel of its own.

The last time Mr. Wesley visited this place he preached at eleven o'clock in the morning; and though the chapel had been enlarged a short time before to double its former size, it could

not contain the crowds that came from every quarter to hear him. Unable to gain admittance, many stood around the door. The calm and placid tenderness which fifty years' [sic] close walk with God had settled in his countenance, made his hearers imagine for a moment that they gazed upon one who was superhuman. He gave out with emphasis the hymn beginning with, "I thirst, thou wounded Lamb of God," when a circumstance occurred which gave expression to that wit for which he was ever remarkable. An organ of inferior description was played in the chapel; and as it occasioned him some annoyance, he said, when the first verse was sung, "Let that organ stop, and let the women take their parts." "They cannot sing without, sir," replied Mr. Robinson. "Then," he retorted, "how did they do before they got one?" The organ stopped, and the congregation proceeded with the singing. The preacher did not assist them in singing the hymn, but from the motion of his hand, and the glancing of his eye, it appeared that his whole soul was responding to the precious sentiments thereof. His text was, "The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved." The sermon was a combination of terror and tenderness. There was so little effort in the preacher, that but for the occasional lifting up of his right hand, he might have been termed a speaking statue. His hearers were as motionless as he; many of them sat gazing with open mouths on the venerable form before them, whose calm and solemn tones seemed like sounds proceeding from another world. Oppressed with the burden of 85 years, he yet performed the entire service. At its close a crowd, many aged like himself, flocked around him, anxious for the privilege of shaking hands with the man who, under God, had founded Methodism, and had now become a veteran in its cause. "The Lord bless you," exclaimed his old friends with filling hearts, and as the last farewell to him whom they were destined to see no more in the flesh. His very appearance had that morning produced lasting impressions. A youth, who was jocosely and dissipated, had, on the way, kept saying to his companions, with an air of bravery, "This fine Mr. Wesley! I shall hear him, and I'll get converted." The countenance of the preacher sufficed to put him into a more serious state of mind; and, for a long time afterwards, it haunted him as a personification of virtue, and rendered him miserable in his sins. He is now [1850] the leader of a Primitive Methodist Class. The next day, Thursday, 3 July, Wesley had intended preaching at Alford, near the end of the town; but he was overruled by the gentry, who desired him to preach in the market

place. He did so, probably in the forenoon. A multitude flocked together, and heard on that spot of merchandise a lesson which was rarely taught within its square, as he discoursed from that solemn text, "It is appointed unto men once to die." To show the anxiety which prevailed in the neighbourhood, a clergyman of this vicinity used to relate an anecdote respecting a pious Methodist named Twigg, with whom he was intimate. It will illustrate the excitement which attended Mr. Wesley's visits. Twigg, who lived at [South] Thoresby, was coming to hear the venerable preacher, and, afraid of being too late, he ran at full speed. A toll-bar crossed his road, and required him to slacken pace a little in order to proceed; but deeming this a hindrance, and nerved by his anxiety to see and hear the man who had moved England, he leaped over the gate and pursued his way to the market-place. Nearly everyone in the congregation listened attentively to the solemn truths which were being delivered concerning man's mortality; but a few in its outskirts, being otherwise disposed, hurled various missiles, with the design of annoying the attentive congregation and the venerable preacher. In those days females wore stays which allowed a bone to be drawn out at pleasure; and enraged at the conduct of the disturbers, an old lady indignantly snatched a bone out of her stays and dealt amongst them vigorous blows. Mr. Riggall well remembers old Mr. Bryant of Alford, who lived nearly to the age of 100 years, and who was one of the youths that heard Wesley in the market-place.

COPY OF LETTER (AUTOGRAPH) FROM CHAS. WESLEY TO JOHN WESLEY.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE REV. GEO. MARSDEN.

[For the history of this painful affair, see Tyerman, *Wesley*, iii, 303—313. The Preachers stationed at Bristol, 1779, were Alexander McNab, John Valton, John Bristol.]

B[ristol] Dec 1 [1779].

[Dear Brother]

Surely you cannot still allow J.P.¹ or any other to open your

1. John Pawson.

letters in y^r absence ! You sh^d revoke *this order at least* or Truth dare not approach you.

I breakf'd yesterday with Mr Pine. He said Mr M^b2 had been with him and offered him his Narrative to print ; which he absolutely refused, and spoke much to dissuade him from publishing it, insisting that he ought to suffer in silence (however innocent or opprest rather) than do so much mischief by a public Vindication. This only confirmed him in his Resolution. He bitterly complained of your taking too much upon you : of your interfering with the assistant ; appointing him one week & displacing him the next &c. He told him, " The ministers were resolved to have a meeting shortly, & to settle among themselves the affairs of the Church." So it will not be a Congress but a Synod—if they can agree to chuse a Moderator. Mr Carlisle assures me They are determined to make a separation, for their patience can hold out no longer. One would think they took the Americans for their Pattern. By the time that their Synod is opened I hope your *sound* sons will be ready to meet you in a lawful assembly. God has suffered them thus to show themselves before your death that you may save a remnant, divide the prey with the mighty, & bequeath y^r children to faithful pastors.

Dined with Dr Coke & B. Carlisle at Mr Stock^s. Mr Bristol invited himself to prevent mischief. I took the Dr^s & Carlisle aside. He repeated the words of M^b y^r pious son ! who still *talks* of his love and obedience to you, declares he has never opposed you, and does not oppose you.

I sent a kind message to [McNab?] by B. Sanderson, & a second by Dr C y^t if he desired to speak with me I would meet him any time at Miss Jⁿ.⁴ He refused to come, saying if I had anything to say to him I might send my Terms, & what concessions I expected on his part. I suppose he imputed my offer to Fear of his narration.

I was much assisted to preach from John 17—That they all may be one &c. spent another hour with the Leaders, preaching peace, Mr Bristol and Mr Grant spake in defence of Mr M^b. All the rest against him. Bro^r Dyer repeated the word of the Spirit to him. "Obey those that have the rule over you." Another said That word was thundered in his ear (when in danger of seduction—"how were ye not afraid to speak ag^t my

2. Alexander McNab.

3. Dr. Thomas Coke.

4. Miss Elizabeth Johnson.

serv^t Moses?" We parted all determined to labour for peace. The Preachers zeal for Methodism is mere Finess to gain y^r favor. Mrs Madison tells me *They* (not I) are for destroying it. The early preaching w^d be universally dropt with you. The bands and classes also—as too much trouble. Mr. Davis's⁵ or the Scotch model w^d suit them much better. All y^r Scotch Preachers will, I fear, be drawn into their whirlpool.

I must meet the society once more, even tho' Mr Br—^t sh^d again bring his brother to oppose me there. On Monday I return to Bath. Mr. Valton is sick at Mr Durant's. I hope to visit him on Friday. Mr Carlisle, Joseph [Bradford] & the Dr supply y^r round.

Wedn Dec. 1 [1779]. Mr Bristol continues as active as M'b in canvassing & prejudicing the people: who, many of them pity poor Mr M'b condemned unheard, & not permitted to speak a word—in the Society. I met Mr B^r this morning at Miss Jn's, and told him y^r reason for sending him into the Bradford Round: namely y^t he might be out of danger of more contention. His wife must have the room shortly for a lodging already taken for her. I lovingly advised him to have the room himself [By the way he denies his *bringing* Mr M'b down to oppose me. We came a quarter of an hour before him.] B. Lewis afterwards told him. "If Mr B. took a lodging for them both he w^d pay for it. I told him he was still acknowledged by you as a preacher altho not in this Round: and you c^d find him employment when his wife was got up again. He complained of our making fish of one & flesh of tother by punishing them and not Mr Valton. I answered: y^t Mr M'b as the Principal was silenced: y^t He, as the accessory suffered little: & that humble Mr V— as drawn in & overborne by Them, was at most guilty of a sin of ignorance, & therefore not punished at all.

He still justifies M'b, & does not condemn himself, tho' he owns the preachers did say, "You have no right to put away a pr^t till the Conference, or to alter any Round." He and his party are very angry at Joseph & Carlisle for going into the Round by y^r Order.

The bitterest of all their partisans is Mr Cross. Mr Carlisle makes a just remark. That the warmest Americans are the deepest in the independent Preachers schemes, as the greatest admirers of the Congress & Dr Price. When you sent word you would send the other preachers into their places Mr B^r said, "Whoever comes I shall stand my

ground, and no man shall remove me from this house." I told him he had compelled you to maintain y^r authority, & give y^m a proof of your power to silence preachers, to alter Rounds, & to claim your own house. That you had made him & M^b Preachers, placed them here, opened all houses & hearts to them, & in return They had abused their power, betrayed their trust, & turned the hearts of your own children against you. For these reasons he was not *thrust* but *put* out of my B's house,⁶ not by my B, but by Mr M^b & himself.

My council i.e. Dr C, Carlisle, T. Lewis, & B. Johnson are unanimous for the Necessity of this Removal: without w^{ch} M^b can never be kept out, Mr B^r humbled or Peace restored. I spent the day in walking from house to house with my faithful assistant & B. Carlisle. Our labour was not in vain. I intended to preach tomorrow evening; but thought it better to desire Mr Bristol to preach for me— I am now quite weary and faint through their contradiction: & glad shall I be to get out of this fire. Next week I hope for more quiet in Bath.

Wedn Night

Ἐρρωσο ἐν Χριστῷ.

Write to confirm what I have done

Lock up my Letters

if you approve, & agⁿ I say, Keep y^r mind to yourself.

[COMMUNICATED BY REV. B. F. FIELDING.]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

432. TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES.—(1) CROSS AT BRUTON (*Journal*, 7 September, 1776).—"In the market place there is a curious hexagonal market cross, supported by six pillars at the angles, and a larger one in the centre. The roof consists wholly of the ribs of arches, which, springing from the centre, diverge from pillar to pillar, and are finely ornamented with sculpture. This edifice is eighteen feet high, the top flat, and encompassed with a stone

6. "My brother's house," i.e., John Wesley's "Room" in Bristol.

balustrade ; it was built, as Leland informs us, by John Ely, the last abbot of Brewton.”—(Collinson, *Somerset*, i, 211.) [There are other examples of this beautiful form of cross at (*e.g.*) Malmesbury, Cheddar, Salisbury, and Chichester.]

(2) CATHANGER.—(*Journal*, 3 Sept., 1778, 2 Sept., 1785.)—“The manor house, a venerable old edifice in the form of an L, is still standing, inhabited by a farmer . . . The great hall is lofty, and has a ceiling of good masonry, divided into lozenges. In one of the windows, which are large and stately, there are three coats . . . Over this hall there is a large old apartment with a curious antique ceiling and chimney-piece, embellished with armorial shields. In the compartments of the ceiling are a variety of grotesque figures. Over one of the windows is a well-executed carving of a ship at sea, attended by several boats, a whale spouting, and some other marine objects. In another part is represented a town environed by a crenellated wall. Over the entrance of the porch is cut in stone, JOHN WALSH ANNO DNI, 1559, SERJANT AT LAWE. On the west side is a spacious stone staircase leading to the top of the building.”

“Anno V Eliz. was made one of the Justices of the King’s Bench.”—(Collinson, *Somerset*, i, 42 ; 1791.)

(3) SOUTH PETHERTON (*Journal*, 3 Sept., 1778.)—“Ina had a palace here. The inhabitants shew an old house near the church, which still bears that prince’s name, but which in reality was the erection of more modern times, and the old palace must long ago have been level with the ground.”—(Collinson, *Somerset*, iii, 107.)

(4) KING ALFRED’S TOWER (*Journal*, 17 Sept., 1784.)—“The memory of that prince is preserved by a stately tower, erected at the south-west extremity of the parish [Kilminster], by the late Henry Hoare, Esq., on an eminence commanding the most beautiful inland prospect in the kingdom, and to which description would fall very short in doing justice [engraving, vol. II., 264]. It is built of brick, of a triangular form, having a turret at each angle, and round one of them a railed gallery. Its height is one hundred and fifty five feet, and the ascent to its top is by two hundred and twenty one steps. On a tablet over the entrance is the following inscription :—

‘ Alfred the Great, A.D. 879, on this summit erected his standard against Danish invaders ; to him we owe the

origin of juries, and the creation of a naval force. Alfred, the light of a benighted age, was a philosopher and a Christian ; the father of his people, and the founder of the English monarchy and liberties.'

This tower is now the property of Sir Richard C. Hoare, Bart., grandson of the founder, whose elegant seat at Stourhead adjoins this parish on the Wiltshire side."—(Collinson, *Somerset*, iii, 39.)

433. EXISTING METHODIST CHAPELS BUILT PREVIOUSLY TO 1791. —Our invaluable helper, the Rev. Richard Butterworth, suggests the desirability of making a complete list of chapels, *still in existence*, built before Wesley's death in 1791. Will our members kindly take this in hand? William Myles, in the fourth edition of his *Chronological History of the People called Methodists*, published 1813, prints a long list of chapels, but it is both incomplete and incorrect. He gives the number then standing as 1574, a small proportion of which date before 1791.—*Mr. George Stampe*.

The third edition of Myles' *History*, published 1803, gives a list with the following summary:—"The Number of Chapels: In England, 738; in Ireland, 130; in Wales, 26; in Scotland, 20; in the Isle of Man, 19; in the Norman Isles, 3; in the Isle of Wight, 3; in the Isles of Scilly, 1; in Berwick-upon-Tweed, 1; total in the United Kingdom, 940." Of these 626 are dated up to and including 1791, the year of Wesley's death. There are, however, omissions, *e.g.*, the chapel at Westgate in Weardale was built in 1791, but is not in the list at all.—*J.C.N.*

434. EARLY ANTI-METHODIST SERMON.—I have lately acquired a small 12mo tract with the following title: "The substance of a *sermon* preached by the Reverend Dr. Thrace, at Richmond in Surry, on Sunday the 29th of last month against Hypocritical, dissembling set of *people* commonly called *Methodists*, otherwise *Culeymites*; wherein is plainly laid open their detestable and deceitful Ways to gain proselytes, and several other things worthy of Note, very proper to be read by all Ranks and Ages; particularly those who have any thought of turning Methodists. Published by Desire of several Persons of Distinction." It bears no date, and the text is from Phil. iii, 2, "Beware of dogs, etc." Can any member send me information about this "Reverend Dr. Thrace"? The tract is not named by Mr. Green in his *Anti-Methodist Publications*, and is a very bitter attack on

Wesley and his followers.—*Mr. George Stampe.*

435. C. WESLEY'S "FINEST LINE."—That pleasant little literary journal—*T.P.'s Weekly*—has lately been receiving from its readers their suggestions regarding the "finest lines" in English poetic literature. In this week's number, H.L. (Bristol) writes:—"A Catholic priest, with whom I was having a friendly chat, said that Wesley's finest line was:— 'He breaks the power of cancelled sin, He sets the prisoner free.' He considered St. Paul's argument in Romans vii and viii, was concentrated in this line." This is an interesting little bit of literary opinion, and, considering the source whence it comes, it has some theological significance as well. I have pleasure in passing it on to the W.H.S.—*Mr. Robert Morgan*: (9 May, 1908.)
436. THE FIRST LOCAL PREACHER IN IRELAND.—The *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for May, 1828, pp. 214-5, contains a notice of the death of Rev. John Wilson, in which is contained the following important item: "Philip Gier was the first local preacher recognised by the Rev. John Wesley in Ireland; and was first appointed, as a Local Preacher, at the first Irish Conference, which met in Limerick, August, 1752." Concerning Philip Guier, see further Tyerman's *Wesley*, ii, 144-6; Crookshank's *History of Methodism in Ireland*, especially p. 92.—*J.C.N.*
437. THE FIRST PERMANENT METHODIST SOCIETY IN NORTH WALES.—The *Magazine* for December, 1828, contains an obituary notice of John Evans, of Pentre Livier [Pentre-llivior, in the Newtown section of the Severn Valley Mission]. In this notice it is said that "in May, 1778, a small class was formed at Pentre Livier; this was the first permanent Methodist Society in North Wales." The notice further states that in 1798 John Evans was employed in erecting a chapel at Pentre, and that at the time of his death he was probably the oldest Methodist in his native country. This chapel at Pentre-llivior is not mentioned in Myles' *Chronological History* (3rd ed., 1803), but it is still in regular use, and must be one of the oldest, if not actually the oldest chapel in continuous use in Welsh Wesleyan Methodism. Pentre-llivior is some three or four miles from Tregynon, the birthplace of Thomas Olivers.—*J.C.N.*
438. "THE WONDERFUL DEED" OF PITT STREET, LIVERPOOL.—I have recently had the privilege of examining the Deed of Old Pitt Street Chapel to which John Wesley took such

strong objection (*Journal*, Thursday, 10 April, 1766). It is in excellent preservation, but here and there certain words are not easy to decipher. A study of it leaves no doubt in one's mind as to the reasonableness of our Founder's "dislike" of its provisions. The document is dated 11 March, 1766, so that Wesley made its acquaintance when it was only a month old. The contracting parties were Richard Rawsthorne, of Liverpool, of the one part, and Benedict Paul Wagner, Robert Seddon, Joseph Gill, James Edmunds, Peter Sproson, John Bradshaw, John Marsh, Enoch Norris and Richard Taylor of the other part. Notwithstanding Wesley's protest and appeal, "the wonderful Deed," so far as can be ascertained, remained unaltered during his life-time. The Deed upon which Mount Pleasant (Liverpool) was settled in 1789 also gave Wesley annoyance, as is seen from his letter to Mr. Lawrence Frost, dated London, 23 October, 1789, in which he says: "It is true, your deed is clumsy enough. I am surprised that no Methodist will take my advice. I have more *experience*, in these things, than any attorney in the land. And have I not the Methodist interest as much at heart? Oh, why will you alter the beautiful deed we have already? Why will you employ any attorney at all? Only to seek a knot in a bulrush; only to puzzle the cause."—*Rev. George Lester*.

439. WESLEY RELICS.—Three penny volumes fetch £9 10s.—"Another item was added to the tale of old book romances at Messrs. Hodgson's rooms yesterday. Among bundles and single copies of miscellaneous books brought under the hammer was an imperfect presentation copy of the first edition of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, 1781, with the 4th vol. missing. Ordinarily such a copy would not command a very high price, but on the frontispiece of the first vol. were two inscriptions: '*J. Wesley*, the gift of the author, 1781,' and in another hand '*S. Wesley*, the Legacy of her much honoured Uncle, *J. Wesley*, 1791.' . . . This fact renders the copy of note-worthy interest, and the East-end bookseller who had bought it for 1d. a volume found his purchase more than justified when it realized the sum of £9 10s. yesterday."—*Daily Chronicle*, 10 Dec., 1908.—(*The late*) *Mr. C. Lawrence Ford, B.A.*
440. MRS. WRIGHT, OF NEW YORK (*Proc.* V, 212, 223).—The following appendix to Dr. Gillies' *Life of Whitefield*, 1772, supplies a useful note on the entry in Wesley's *Journal*,

24 Jan., 1774: "I was desired by Mrs. Wright, of New York, to let her take my effigy in wax-work. She has that of Mr. Whitefield, and many others."

"London, July 2, 1772.

Since this work was finished, the following particulars have come to the Editor's knowledge, viz.: That Mrs. Rachel Wells, of Philadelphia, famous in America for her ingenious performances in wax work, made a wax image of Mr. Whitefield, as large as life, properly dressed, before Mr. Whitefield died; and (from her regard to the memory of that great and good man) soon after his death, carried it, at her own expense, to Georgia (upwards of 900 miles) and made a present of it to Bethesda College. The likeness is said to be so striking, that it astonishes all who have seen it. Her sister, Mrs. Wright, of New York, who possesses the same uncommon genius for wax-work, is lately arrived in London, and has brought over with her several of her performances; among them is a wax image of Mr. Whitefield, dressed in his own wig, band, &c., so like the original, that all who have seen it have in the strongest terms expressed their approbation. It is said she is come over, at the desire of some gentlemen in New York, to take off some of the capital characters in England, viz., Lord Chatham, Mrs. Macaulay, Mr. Garrick, &c., and from the specimen given of her abilities in Mr. Whitefield's image, will no doubt meet with encouragement suitable to her merit."—*Rev. R. Butterworth*. [WRIGHT, PATIENCE, in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*]

441. PARDON CHURCHYARD. *Journal*, 17 Nov., 1769).—"In the year 1348 a terrible pestilence devastated London. It was so unappeasable that gravediggers could hardly be found to bury the dead, and many thousand bodies were carelessly thrown into mere pits dug in the open fields. Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, shocked at these unsanctified interments, consecrated three acres of waste ground, . . . outside the walls, between the lands of the Abbey of Westminster and those of St. John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell. He there erected a small chapel, where masses were said for the repose of the dead, and named the place 'Pardon Churchyard.' (*Old and New London*, Walter Thornbury, ii, 385). In 1361, Michael de Northburgh, Stafford's successor, died, bequeathing the sum of two thousand pounds, for founding and building a Carthusian Priory at Pardon Churchyard. [viz: the

Charterhouse]" (ib.)

"*Pardon Churchyard*. This Spot of Ground lies on the East Side of *St. John-Street* [Clerkenwell], between the north wall of *Charter-House* garden and *Sutton Street*, alias *Swan Alley*; and is at present by the inhabitants corruptly called *Farden Churchyard*; there being nothing of the Chapel left but its stone Quoins, the interstices of which were some time ago rebuilt, and the whole converted into a dwelling-house; in the neighbourhood of which *Pardon Churchyard* a few years ago in digging foundations for divers new houses, a very great quantity of human bones were dug up, to the no small amazement of the whole neighbourhood." (*Mailland and Entick*, ii, 1365.)—*H.J.F.*

442. **OLDFIELD BROW** (*Journal*, 8 May, 1747, 30 Aug., 1748).—The late Dr. George Bowden wrote me on 4 Dec., 1901: "Oldfield Hall overlooks the field where the Linotype Cottages are being built at Broadheath. Oldfield Brow is the rise of ground which leads up to [the late] Mr. Thomas Willshaw's house, joins the old road from Manchester to Knutsford, avoiding the rise up Bowdon Downs and the descent by Dunham Park Gates. It would be his shortest road for Boothbank (*Proc.*, vii, p. 79). Wesley would preach at the cottages clustering on the road-side at the foot of the Brow, in what in my father's time was Priestner's farm; my father was the leader of a class there for some years." Mr. A. Ingham, in his *Altrincham and Bowdon*, chap. iii, gives additional details: "[Wesley] preached under a pear-tree in Mr. Priestner's garden on Oldfield Brow He also preached in Church Street and other parts of the town."¹

Of the CHAPEL opened by Thomas Taylor, 17 Feb., 1788, and visited by Wesley, under a happy compulsion (5 April, 1790), Ingham says: "The Church of England Service was read on the occasion [of the opening]. Abner Partington, a man well known in the annals of Altrincham, and who probably was subsequently one of its Mayors, officiated as clerk." After its disuse as a chapel it had many changes of fortune, ownership and use. In 1907, when I

1. "All ye at Holme, likewise Bothbank, [*sic*]
Warburton, Oldfield Brow,
Go on, dear saints, and never shrink
For Jesus pleads for you."—WILLIAM DARNEY.

saw it, it had been new-fronted and turned into a small theatre.—*H.J.F.*

443. "MADAM GRIFFIN," OF CHEWSTOKE (*Journal*, 10 Sep., 1790).—"Griffiths," in the printed *Journal* is an early error. In Wesley's pocket shorthand Diary, preserved at Headingley College, he writes "Griffin" correctly, in clear longhand, as he does all proper names. She was a remarkable woman, of great force of character, and for years the mainstay of the Methodist cause in her village. She was of good family, being one of the latest representatives of an historic Somersetshire family, the Bouchiers, and was therefore commonly called by her neighbours "Madam Griffin." By her own marriage with John Griffin, and by the marriage of two grand-daughters, to Abiezer Harper, of Bristol, and to John Hellier, of Nempnett, respectively, Anna Maria Bouchier became an ancestress of three remarkable Methodist families, the Harpers, the Griffins, and the Helliers. For more than a century, and down to our own times, Harpers and Griffins have been prominent in the Methodism of old Portland Chapel, Bristol. Another descendant, Rev. Benjamin Hellier, is affectionately remembered by many as Governor of Headingley College. Rev. C. E. Griffin, of Hunstanton, belongs to her family tree; as does Rev. Henry G. Hellier, who was for some years in the Wesleyan ministry, but retired, and taking Anglican orders, succeeded his father in the living of Nempnett.—*H. J. Foster.*
444. NEW LETTER OF JOHN WESLEY.—A recently issued Booksellers' Catalogue gave prominence to a letter of Wesley's offered as one of a Collection of Original Autograph Letters from Celebrities, collected before 1840 by John Eddison, Master of the Worshipful Company of Girdlers.

"Bristol, July 25, 1780.

Mr. Pawson delivered me your letter, for wch I sincerely thank you. I cannot but see the wonderful hand of God throughout this whole affair. The wants of some of His dear children were large (one in Yorkshire and the rest in London), [so] that I could not possibly have relieved them without this extraordinary Benefaction. But by this means I was enabled to relieve them effectually, by giving them fifty pounds apiece. To another I gave twenty upon her Wedding-day. The rest I will reserve (if I can) to the Conference. You will send us word of all the steps of Providence towards you, in wch we are all much interested.

And none more than, Dear Sir,
 Your affectionate Friend and Brother,
 To the Rev. Mr. Collins, JOHN WESLEY.
 at Mr. Atlay's,
 in the City Road,
 London."

The Rev. Bryan Bury Collins, to whom the letter was addressed, was an occasional helper of Wesley in his later years. See Tyerman, *Wesley*, iii, 335-6. No doubt fuller knowledge would reconcile Tyerman's few facts with those in a "taking" by Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe, the editor of the *Experience* of the widow of President Pawson (footnote to pp. 59-60). It is worth printing, if only for the last sentence; but it may explain where the funds came from for which Wesley thanks him.

"This gentleman is revered by myriads in the religious world. He was a curate, a while, at Roade, near Frome; afterwards at Lowgate, in Hull. Here his popularity was so great, that his vicar, and some other gentlemen, piqued at the manner of a young convert, dismissed him. About five thousand people attended him on the quay, while he preached, prior to his leaving the town. And, if we may except the short labours of Mr. King, that church has exhibited the gloom of an almost forsaken temple.

"On leaving Hull, he cast himself on the care of Providence, and continued to make journeys throughout the United Kingdom, and to preach in all churches, chapels, &c., where a door was opened. Gentlemen who knew his life and labours, more than supplied all his wants; and he was the faithful almoner of all the surplus to the poor. Wishful to be a faithful steward, and to repress his natural tendency to pride, he placed his family in the humblest cottage in Twerton, near Bath. The rent was forty shillings per annum, and the broken beam was supported by the knotty end of an oak pole in the middle of the house. Yet Mr. Collins was a man of polished manners, a scholar of high classical taste, and a Christian of distinguished simplicity and zeal. In the pulpit he often looked like a seraph, and while he spoke, 'the soul hung upon the ear.' I shall never forget the charge he delivered to the Methodist preachers, the Conference after Mr. Wesley's death, from the second chapter of Paul's epistle to the Philippians, ver. 1, 2. But an estate of £400 a year, aided by constitutional infirmities,

somewhat beclouded the last year [years?] of his life."

His relations with the Methodists also ended under a cloud. In the first minute-book of the trustees of Portland Chapel, Bristol, Mr. Collins' name appears as strongly taking the side of the Old Planners in the sacramental controversy. He preached his church notions in the pulpit, and talked against the administration of the sacraments by the 'lay' preachers; until, as the superintendent writes, "he sowed discord, and the work of God, to the great grief of my soul, was impeded by him." In the time of transition he had been one of the clergymen retained by the Trustees, to give the sacraments. But at last they put upon their book a resolution that Mr. Collins should not preach in Portland pulpit again.

Can any member shed any light upon the facts set forth in the letter? I daresay we should not be far from the truth if we took the Yorkshire beneficiary to be Miss Bosanquet, of Cross Hall, Morley. A few days after the date of the letter she writes in her Diary: "August, 1780. I cannot support these expenses and losses. And yet it seems I cannot get deliverance from them. . . . I strive to save in every thing, and in many ways I have tried to do so; but unless all did the same, it makes little difference." (H. Moore's *Life of Mrs. Fletcher*. See also 12 Sep., 1777.)

445. THE ECCENTRIC LADY OF HUNMANBY (*Journal*, 22 June, 1784; *Proc.* v, 249).—Wesley's note produces the impression that Mrs. Osbaldeston's eccentricities arose from religious scruples. Whether religion had anything to do with the sudden change in her style of living is not known, but it is certain that she became utterly demented, and beyond the power of anybody to convince that she was "going too far." Her ruling mania was excessive parsimony, not only in dress but in everything else. Stories of her penurious habits are still told by old inhabitants of "the little town." Her hatchment still hangs above the chancel arch of the well-kept church of the village.—*Rev. R. Butterworth.*





THE LATE REV. HENRY J. FOSTER.

Photograph by Walter Davey, Harrogate.

HENRY J. FOSTER.

By the death of the Rev. Henry J. Foster the Wesley Historical Society has lost one of its most valuable members. He was singularly fitted by disposition and training for the work of a Methodist antiquary. He had that hunger for the distant past which characterises the true archæologist. Allied with it he possessed, and was possessed by a passion for accuracy. That passion led him to seek for absolute historical truth. He searched out, discovered and stated great facts; he also, with an unwearying love of smaller things, shed a "kindly light" on incidents in the lives of long-forgotten men. His work in the by-ways, as well as on the highways, of Methodist History enriched, for many years, the pages of the "Proceedings" of our Society.

Shy and retiring in the presence of the general public, he opened his heart to his friends. They soon found why he was enamoured of John Wesley. In more than one respect they were kindred spirits. Each of them was a man whose holiness was beautiful because it was a possession of which he was unconscious. Henry J. Foster would have smiled if he had been told that he was a saint; but his saintliness was never doubted by his friends. Called to sound the deeps of physical pain and weakness, he passed through the abyss fearing no evil. God was with him; and, now, he is with God for ever.

J. S. SIMON.

THE LATE REVD. HENRY J. FOSTER:

"THAT FRIEND OF MINE WHO LIVES IN GOD."

Somewhere about 1888, during one of his many visits to me, I suggested to the late Revd. Richard Green the desirability of forming, after the American model, a "Wesley Historical Society." In the following year, while I was staying with him at Didsbury College, the idea took shape, and shortly afterwards we drew up the Prospectus. It was not, however, until 1896 that the first number of the printed *Proceedings* appeared, although the

MS. Magazine had previously been in circulation. For the first few years the Revd. R. Waddy Moss was Mr. Green's chief helper in the editorial work, rendering splendid service. After his retirement in 1901 our late dear friend, the Revd. H. J. Foster's name appears as one of the editors, and few men know better than I do the faithful service he gave to the Society ever afterwards. It was not until the year 1899 that his earliest contribution appeared, viz. : the first portion of his exhaustive "Bristol Methodist Notes," though he was from the beginning in full sympathy with the Society's aims. During Mr. Green's long illness Mr. Foster's labours were untiring and his work perfect, and on Mr. Green's "translation" in 1907, the chief editorship naturally devolved upon him. In many of his letters to me Mr. Green makes most grateful acknowledgment of the devoted and able assistance Mr. Foster had cheerfully rendered, and between the two experts there was the most perfect sympathy and confidence.

For several years past, Mr. Foster and I were in frequent correspondence, and all through, it was evident that his knowledge of Methodist history and usage was wide and deep, and never at fault. I have rarely seen such capacity for "taking pains," and Carlyle himself did not excel him in "verifying his facts." His unfailing courtesy, his unstudied kindliness, his winning smile, revealed the generous soul and the reverent spirit, and will ever remain the priceless heritage of his friends.

His many letters to me during the past few years will remain among my most treasured possessions. How brave and patient he was—how closely and firmly he held the hand of God! Not one word of murmuring, not one sign of fear! Only concern for his loved ones and for his "stricken circuit!" Thus he finishes one of his latest letters to me: "What God will appoint for my 'residue of days' I know not. But He does know. I trust never to live a useless life." To many of us that "life" will be fragrant with loving memories—a great benediction until we gather with him yonder!

To the Staff of the "Wesley Historical Society" his departure is an irreparable loss, none knowing it more than the brave and able men who will seek to carry on his editorial work. But the inspiration of faithful service, unfailing brotherliness, high spiritual aims and purposes, will not be the least or the lowest of the lessons that will come to us from the noble life and character of Henry J. Foster.

GEORGE STAMPE.

PROCEEDINGS.

I esteem it a great privilege to write a brief appreciation of my late dear colleague, the Rev. H. J. Foster. It is just four years since, at the request of the late Rev. Richard Green, I undertook to be his colleague in the work of editing the *Proceedings*. He was then in the fulness of his powers, and to labour under him was a literary education of no mean order. His taste was exacting ; frequently documents were entirely re-written by him, because their style and method of treatment did not come up to his high standard. Of his patience as an investigator, and the usefulness and accuracy of the results he achieved, every number of our *Proceedings* bears ample testimony. In all these respects his work for the W.H.S. was but an illustration of the extreme conscientiousness and love of truth which marked his character. Nothing but the highest could satisfy him, and if even a slight error escaped his notice, its after discovery caused him pain. He was always on the look-out for material that might be of service for his work : there still remain in my hands a large number of notes from his pen, most of which I trust will be available for future use. Some, however, it is to be feared, cannot be brought into service, because there are wanting in them points of information and links of connection which only he could have supplied.

Of Mr. Foster's religious character, and labours as a minister, it is not needful that I should write : the testimonies borne to him at his funeral, in the public press, and at the Conference Memorial Service, have told how he was a man of the highest saintliness and devotion, whom to know was to revere and to love. I may, however, be permitted to say that our frequent communications gave me many opportunities of seeing and valuing his deeply spiritual nature. During his illness he often referred, in brief but most suggestive sentences, to his rich confidence in the Lord and complete resignation to His will. He was a true man of God, whose memory to me as his privileged colleague, will be very precious.

During the last few years the *Wesley Historical Society* has suffered heavy loss in the death of several of its most useful contributors. Richard Green, Henry J. Foster, Francis M. Jackson and C. Lawrence Ford laboured ardently in its service, and their contributions, enshrined in our volumes, are of great value. We need the help of new investigators, and shall be glad to receive papers from any of our members, or from other correspondents. As will be seen from the subjoined report, the Rev. Thos. E. Brigden is to be associated with me as Editor, and the

Rev. F. F. Bretherton, B.A., will act as Assistant Editor. The aid of these brethren, with their extensive knowledge of Methodist History and Literature, will be of the greatest value.

J. CONDER NATTRASS.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Wesley Historical Society met at Eastbrook, Bradford, 15 July, the Rev. Dr. J. S. Simon presiding. A letter of sympathy was sent to the widow and family of the late Rev. Henry J. Foster, whose accurate work as Editor was highly valued by the Society. The Revs. J. Conder Nattrass, B.A., B.D., and Thomas E. Brigden were appointed Joint Editors, with the Rev. F. F. Bretherton, B.A., as Assistant. Mr. George Stampe, of Grimsby, was re-appointed Treasurer, and the Revs. J. W. Crake and M. Riggall, Secretaries. Application for membership should be addressed to the Rev. J. W. Crake, 1, Horton Road, Wooton Hill, Gloucester. (*Methodist Recorder*.)

A KING'S BENCH CASE IN 1766 ON THE REGISTRATION OF A METHODIST MEETING-HOUSE UNDER THE TOLERATION ACT.

To avoid penalties under the Conventicle Act of 1670 and other penal laws, it was necessary for many years to register Nonconformist chapels and preachers under the Toleration Act of 1689.

The following case as to the registration of a Meeting-House, which was decided by the Court of King's Bench in 1766 (the 7th year of George III's reign) is interesting because the report of Blackstone, who was one of the Counsel engaged in the case, expressly states that the applicants for registration were Methodists.¹

1. The Case is also reported in Burrow's Reports, vol. 4, p. 1991, but the fact that the applicants were Methodists is not there mentioned. Black-

It may be well to give some slight explanation of the legal terms employed in the report.

The 'ministerial' functions of Courts are matters of legal machinery in which Courts are bound, on prescribed conditions being complied with, to carry out particular duties (for example, the issue of a writ of summons when plaintiff produces the proper papers and tenders the proper fee), and are to be distinguished from the cases where Courts exercise a 'judicial discretion,' which latter cases come more prominently before the public eye.

A writ of *Mandamus* is the remedy by which the King's Bench (formerly the Court of King's Bench, now the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice) may require an inferior court to do some particular duty specified in the writ.

Application to register a Meeting-House under the Toleration Act having been refused by the Derbyshire Justices, the next step was for the applicants to obtain from the King's Bench a *rule* for a writ of *Mandamus* to compel the Justices to register. When a good *prima facie* case is made out by affidavit, a rule is usually granted. If a rule be granted, the real trial takes place on a further application to have the rule made absolute. The following is a report of the real trial on such an application.

Counsel for the Justices shewed cause *against* the application for registration.

I quote the case in full from page 605 of vol. I of the 2nd ed. of Sir William Blackstone's *Reports of Cases Determined in the Several Courts of Westminster Hall from 1746 to 1779*.

"The King v. Justices of Derbyshire.

"Sessions is merely ministerial as to the registering meeting houses under the Act of Toleration.

MOTION for a *mandamus*, to register a certain tenement, which was certified to the Quarter Sessions as a place set apart for the meeting of Protestant dissenters.

Morton and *Blackstone* shewed for cause, 1st. That the parties certifying have not shewn under what denomination of Protestant dissenters they fall, so as to entitle themselves to the indulgence shewn by the Toleration Act, which only meant (*vid.* § 17) to give ease to tender consciences, when professing such principles as neither endanger the civil government, nor undermine the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion. These people may be

stone would gain this knowledge from his instructions as counsel in the case. Blackstone had been made a King's Counsel in 1761, and was appointed a Judge in 1770.

Arians or Socinians. Suppose them only Methodists (*which was the fact*): As these do not dissent from the Church of England, but only pretend to observe her doctrine and discipline with greater purity than their neighbours, it may be a very serious question, how far they are the objects of the Toleration Act, and privileged to meet in conventicles. 2d. The parties applying are not of the neighbourhood, so as to be able to resort to it when recorded. *Queen and Peach*, Salk. 572, it was held, till 10 Ann. c. 2, that a dissenting minister, who had qualified in one county, could not officiate in another. More reasonable to require, that the persons certifying should be of the neighbourhood, who may *bona fide* use the meeting house when registered.—When registered, it acquires some privileges; as by 1 Geo. 1, c. 5, it is felony to begin to demolish it. May a person at any distance, and who is no dissenter, certify *any* tenement to the Sessions, and thereby give it those privileges? 3d. The persons certifying do not appear to have complied with the terms of the Toleration Act by taking the oaths and making the Declaration: *K. and Larwood*. Salk, 168, 4. Mod. 274, this required by the Court: And was complied with in *Green and Pope*, Lord Raym. 125.

But the Court was of opinion, that in registering and recording the certificate, the Justices were merely ministerial; and that after a meeting-house has been duly registered, still if the persons resorting to it do not bring themselves within the Act of Toleration, such registering will not protect them from the penalties of the law.²

Rule for *mandamus* absolute.”

T. BENNETT.

QUERY.

Certificates of registration (often spoken of as licences) of Methodist preachers and chapels under the Toleration Act. It was not till 3 Nov. 1787, that Wesley, after conversing with Mr Clulow, an attorney, was convinced of the necessity of licensing all chapels and preachers under the Toleration Act. (Journal of that date.) Thomas Mitchell had a licence apparently before 1760 (*Wesley's Veterans*, Vol. I, p. 192.) A Derbyshire Chapel was registered in 1766: see the foregoing article. The only preacher's licence of which a copy appears in the *New History of Methodism* is as

2. In Burrow's report of the case, the judgment contains the following addition: "And if in fact they are not within the qualifications, the Justices may return "that they are not" if they think proper."

late as 1810, Vol. II, plate 2, opp. p. 28.) What are the dates of the earliest known certificates of registration of the Methodist Chapels and Preachers? Are the original certificates in existence?

In reference to the above query and to the foregoing article, attention may be called to an important letter by Wesley, dated from Swinfleet [Swinefleet] 19 July 1768, and published in the *Journal* under that date. The terms of the letter are such as seem to indicate that Wesley had in mind the King's Bench decision of 1766.—J.C.N.

THREE WESLEY LETTERS.

I. To Mr. Bell, Officer of Excise, Longtown,
Cumberland.

"London, Dec. 2. 1769.

"My Dear Brother,

Upon the first moving of the thing Mr Ball seemed cold, saying he had just procured the same favour for another. But he added, 'Do you make a point of this?' I told him I did. 'Then,' said he, 'I will do what I can.' So I hope there is little reason to doubt, but the thing will soon be accomplished.

You have cause to bless God upon many accounts; particularly for the Friendliness of your Collector and Supervisor. Above all, for his revealing his love in your heart, and giving you a word to speak in his name.

I am Your Affectionate Brother,
J. WESLEY.

This letter has already appeared in the series of Wesley papers in *W.M. Mag.*, 1847-8, No. 26. It is inserted here for the sake of the appended note. (Editors).

Robert Bell, Exciseman, the recipient of this letter was great-uncle to the friend of mine, by whose kindness I am permitted to copy it. According to Tyerman (iii, 63), Bell founded Methodism in Carlisle, where the first place of worship was a shed used for sheltering carts.

Wesley records two visits to Longtown.

"1770. Mar. 14. I rode on to Longtown; where, finding no better place to screen us from the wind, I stood in a large broad entry, with a room on either hand. Many crowded in here; the rest stood at the door."

" 1784. Apr. 23. We travelled through a lovely country to Longtown, the last town in England ; and one of the best built in it ; for all the houses are new, from one end to the other."

I should be glad to learn something more about R. Bell. Who is the Mr. Ball referred to in the letter ?

B. A. HURD BARLEY.

On *Early Carlisle Methodism*, see W.H.S., iv, 179.

II. J. W. to (? S. Bradburn)

[Endorsed only "With William Hewden's best respects to Mr. Duncan]

London

Feb. 22, 1777.

Dear Sammy,

If George Brown is likely to be an usefull Preacher, it is no wonder he should be so tempted. If he *will* forsake the work, there is a young man at Cork, John Howe, who may take his place. So I have wrote to John Watson. I do not remember, I have had a line from John Hampson since Christmafs.

It will be a difficult thing, to keep Mr Smyth from running into Extremes. He surely will be prosecuted, if he publishes anything, which the Law can lay hold on. And it is easier to prevent the evil, than to redress it.

[Signature cut away.]

[The late] H. J. FOSTER.

MS. in possession of Mrs. Aykroyd, Oakwood, Harrogate.

"J. H.," initials only, appears in the *Minutes* at Cork.—T.E.B.

For Rev. E. Smyth, see Tyerman, vol. iii.

III. A letter of John Wesley's old age.

The following is a transcript of a letter in my possession. The date and tremulous handwriting shew it to have been written when Wesley was "in age and feebleness extreme." Some words are difficult to decipher, and the copy is the best I can make out. I hoped to have supplied a photographic copy for the pages of the *Proceedings*, but find myself unable to do so.

PROCEEDINGS.

London Feb. 4 1789.

My dear Patty

We seem to be now just where we were some years ago. You had a strange Dream : but it is past and you are now awake. He that was the chief means of lulling you asleep is now likewise broad awake. Well ; let us now redeem y^e time ! The night is far spent ! The day of Eternity is at hand ! I am now preparing to take leave of London, perhaps to see it no more. But perhaps my Bones may rest here in (a) vault (? which) is prepared for me and a few more Preachers.

I am, My Dear Patty

Your very affectionate Uncle,

J. WESLEY.

The letter bears the address and message outside.

To

Mrs. Pat Whereat

At the New Room in

Bristol

Send it to her

The original of the above came into the possession of Mrs. Hawkin (my wife) upon the death in 1878 of her uncle Mr. Thomas Dix, solicitor, of Bristol. He was for many years a worshipper and member of the historic Portland Chapel in that city. As to how he obtained the letter I have no certain information. A few months ago I learnt that the Mrs. Patty Whereat to whom it is addressed, was an ancestress of the Rev. Nehemiah Curnock, and I at once brought the letter to his notice. My first surmise was that the letter had come into Mr. Dix's hands through Mr. Curnock's grandfather, who for many years was associated with the King Street Chapel in Bristol, but Mr. Curnock doubts this as his grandfather was unacquainted with the Whereat family. I can now only suppose that the letter was obtained direct from some member of that family in the circle of Mr. Dix's acquaintance. No one who knows J. Wesley's handwriting can doubt the authenticity of the letter.

Mr. Curnock has been naturally interested in the letter, and, in reply to my queries, has given me the following notes with permission to publish them. He says, "My mother's maiden name was Whereat. She was the eldest daughter of an old Nonconformist family at Castle Green, Bristol. Her father's brother married Patience Ellison, the granddaughter of Mrs. Ellison, John Wesley's second sister Susanna. In the Colman Collection there are letters to or respecting John Ellison,

Susanna's son and father of Patience. His uncle gives him good advice and intercedes with Pitt on his behalf, apparently obtaining for the young fellow a situation in the Customs. John Ellison's daughter Patience was, I have always understood, a fine character and a great favourite with her uncle (great uncle) John Wesley. She used sometimes to accompany him on his preaching journeys, and was quite capable of preaching herself, so my mother used to say. Alas! Patience became a Calvinist, and quarrelled with her great uncle. Your letter shows that in later life they made friends again. The Whereats were not very strenuous Calvinists, but they were right worthy deacons. William, my mother's brother, who had the book-shop and Tract and Bible Society's Depot in Corn Street, was deacon at Castle Green and afterwards at Redland for Rev. Urijah Thomas for many years; I should think in all for forty or fifty years. At first I thought it might possibly have been a daughter of Mrs. Ellison and that her mother had called her Martha (Patty) after her aunt Martha (Mrs. Wesley Hall), but this I find was not so. Patience, Mrs. Ellison's granddaughter, is the right person. J. Wesley never would call people whom he loved by their right names. To men and women alike he gave pet names. It was his proof of affection." . . . "This is only one of several new Wesley letters elicited by this first vol. (of the *Journal*). I wish some more diaries would turn up."

Thus far Mr. Curnock. His ancestral review shews, among other matters of interest, that *his* great uncle Whereat married Patience Ellison, the great niece of John Wesley. Thus the association of Wesley with the present Editor of this *Journal* is something more than literary!

The first paragraph of the letter sustains Mr. Curnock's remark that Wesley and Patty Whereat were at length reconciled after their estrangement. But no light is thrown by the letter itself upon the cause of the quarrel. Had it been possible one would like to have known more exactly what Wesley meant by "a strange dream"; also, who was "He that was the chief means of lulling" Patty asleep, but is described as being now likewise "broad awake"? Is there a veiled reference here to Patty's lapse into Calvinism? Was the "strange dream" some Hyper-Calvinistic delusion that she was so assuredly among the "elect" as to incline her towards Antinomian carelessness of life? Was the "chief means" of this "lullaby" the influence of her husband, Mr. Whereat, and had he recently through death come to the "broad awakefulness" of the other world? These are only conjectures, but they are consistent with the tone of the letter as

interpreted by Mr. Curnock.

The reference at the close by Wesley to the vault prepared for himself and "a few more preachers" is very significant and touching. He seems to be feeling the weariness of added years, and would fain fall on sleep. Two more years of his strenuous life remained to him before he entered into "the rest that remaineth."

E. HAWKIN.

A LIST OF PAMPHLETS RELATING TO THE "DIVISION" OF IRISH METHODISM. (1815-1818.)

The following is an attempt to compile a list of the Pamphlets called forth by the Controversy as to the administration of the Lord's Supper, which eventuated in the division of Irish Methodism into the Wesleyan Methodist and Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Societies, long since happily reunited as the Methodist Church in Ireland. As the List is doubtless incomplete, I would be glad if other members should be able to supplement it.

1. The Remonstrance of the Trustees, Stewards and Leaders of the Methodist Society in Dublin; presented to the Methodist Preachers in Conference Assembled July 1815. Now published by order of the Stewards' and Leaders' Meeting. Dublin: Printed by John Jones, 40, S. Great George's St. 1816. Pp. 24.

2. Wesleyan Methodism explained and defended: being a Reply to certain charges preferred against the Conference by Persons styling themselves "Leaders, Stewards, and Trustees of the Limerick Society." Addressed to the Friends of Methodism in Limerick. With some explanatory observations on the present state of Methodism. By Samuel Harpur. Newry: Printed by Alexander Wilkinson, Margaret Square. 1817. Pp. 36.

3. A Report of the Proceedings of the General Committee of the Methodists in Ireland, Assembled to confer with the Methodist Conference begun in Dublin on the 4th July, 1817: in which are discussed certain controverted points of discipline, which materially involve the interests of the Methodist Connection in Ireland. Dublin: Printed by William Porter, Grafton Street. Pp. 30.

4. A Vindication of the Irish Methodist Conference from certain unfair Charges, contained in the "Report" of the Clones Committee, &c., in which, also, their Plans and Proceedings are brought to light! By Gideon Ouseley. Dublin: Printed by J. O. Bonsall, 29, Dawson Street. 1817. Pp. 34.

5. The Case Stated; or observations on a Report, purporting to be the Proceedings of the Committee assembled to confer with the Methodist Conference, begun in Dublin, on the 4th July 1817, in which it is proved by facts, that the rejection of all pacific negociation, rested not with the Conference, but with the Committee. Dublin: Printed by J. Jones, 40, S. Gt. George's Street. 1817. Pp. 36.

6. Remarks upon a Pamphlet, entitled, "A Report of the Proceedings of the General Committee of the Methodists in Ireland; assembled to confer with the Methodist Conference begun in Dublin, on the 4th, July, 1817," &c. By William Copeland. Dublin: Printed by John Jones, 40, S. Gt George's Street. 1817. Pp. 36.

7. Address and Resolutions of the Trustees, Stewards and Leaders of the Methodist Society assembled in Dungannon, on the 13th of November, 1816, together with an Appendix, containing a letter from the Rev. J. Wesley to the Rev. J. Walker, and Mr. Wesley's Thoughts on Separation from the Church of England. Newry: Printed by Alexander Wilkinson, Margaret Square. 1817. Pp. 16.

8. Correspondence between Rev. Adam Averell and Andrew Hamilton. [A 2 page leaflet]. Dated at Dublin 4th and 16th October, 1817.

9. A Reply to a late Circular from sixteen Persons styling themselves Leaders and Trustees of the Methodist Society; in which the Calumnies contained in their Letter are refuted, and the Truth brought to Light, with a few observations on Mr. Averell's strange conduct. By J. O. Bonsall, Secretary to the Dublin Association and a Member of the Dungannon Committee. Second Edition, with considerable additions. Dublin: Printed by T. Courtney, 6, Wood Street. 1817. Pp. 24.

10. Minutes of several Conversations between the Preachers and Committee of the Wesleyan Methodists in Ireland in a Conference, begun in Clones, on the eighth of August, 1817. Dublin: Printed by William Porter, Grafton Street.

11. A Letter to the Candid and Impartial Methodists of Ireland, in which misrepresentation is corrected, the truth vindicated, and the simple in heart rescued from craftiness, in

contradiction of the unfounded assertions of the Address of the Clones Association affixed to their Minutes of 1818. By S. Wood. Dublin : Printed by R. Napper, 140, Capel Street. 1818 Pp. 23.

12. An Address to the People called Methodists, in Ireland, occasioned by certain recent and passing occurrences in that Body. By William Stewart. Dublin : Printed by Robert Napper, 140, Capel Street. 1818. Pp. 24.

13. A Letter to Mr. John Mc.Gregor wherein the Charges contained in his Letter to Mr. William Stewart, his censures upon the Conference, and his claim to Wesleyan Methodism upon acknowledged principles are examined and disproved. By Ambrose Morrison. Dublin : Printed by R. Napper, 140 Capel Street. 1819. Pp. 27.

14. General Principles of the Methodist Constitution, agreed upon in Dublin, at a Meeting of Representatives, Held on the 5th and 6th of January, 1818, and fully agreed to and ratified at a General Meeting, convened at Clones on the 21st instant to re-establish Methodism on its original basis, agreeably to Primitive Wesleyan Methodism. Dublin : Printed by Martin Keene, 6. College Green. 1818.

15. A letter to the Rev. Adam Averell occasioned by a statement delivered in Limerick by that gentleman, on the 13th of March, 1818. By Samuel Harpur. Cork : Printed by E. N. Connellan, Brown Street. 1818. Pp. 21.

16. A Second Letter to the Rev. Adam Averell, occasioned by his late visit to the Limerick Circuit ; and Reports Circulated by the Clones Association, injurious to the character of the Irish Conference. By Samuel Harpur. Limerick : Printed for the Author. 1818 Pp. 14.

17. A Call to Peace and Brotherly Love ; being a calm and friendly expostulation with the Methodists of Ireland ; occasioned by the late publication of a Tract for the avowed purpose of dividing the Connexion. By a Lover of Peace [William Copeland]. Cork : Printed by E. N. Connellan, Brown Street. 1818. Pp. 29.

18. A Statement of Facts, proving that the Methodist Preachers have not departed from Methodism, or separated from the established Church, farther, than Mr. Wesley practised in his own day. By C. McCord. Monaghan : Printed by J. Robinson. 1820. Pp. 8.

19. Methodism Unmasked : A Poem. [Dated July 12, 1817.]

20. Methodism Defended ; or Thoughts consequent upon

reading a Publication, entitled, "Methodism Unmasked," supposed to have been written by a Clones Preacher. By Alexander Mackey. Newry: Printed by Alexander Wilkinson, Telegraph Office. 1818. Pp. 15.

D. B. BRADSHAW.

MR. D. B. BRADSHAW'S LIST (*vide ante*) OF PAMPHLETS
RELATING TO THE DIVISION IN IRISH METHODISM
(1815-1818).

To the list given these may be added.

1. A Candid and Impartial Inquiry into the present state of the Methodist Societies in Ireland, wherein several points relative to their doctrine and discipline are discussed. By a Member of the Society: Belfast, 1814.

2. A Letter on the Cause and Effects of the recent Schism of the Methodist Society in Ireland, addressed to a Gentleman in the vicinity of London, By Joseph Keele. This Letter not to be sold but distributed gratis. London, 1818.

3. A Sermon preached at the Opening of the Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Preaching House, Dublin, Dec. 24 1820. By G. M. West. Dublin, 1821.

4. For Private use only. First Report of the Committees on Methodist Union appointed by the Irish Wesleyan Methodist Conference, and Conference of the Primitive Wesleyans. Belfast: 1875.

This secession was not without connections with the earlier one of 1798. Some documents connected with this, and some references to the Primitive Wesleyans, will be found in *Irish Methodist Reminiscences*. By Edward Thomas: London, 1889.

GEORGE EAYRS.

WESLEY'S VISITS TO OTLEY.

ANNOTATIONS OF THE JOURNAL.

1. 1st Visit: 1759, Tues., 17 July. "I preached to an immense congregation at the foot of a high mountain near Otley."

This "High Mountain" is the Otley Chevin, and the site of this service would probably be under the East Chevin near to the old hamlet of Cambridge just without the Chevin-bar near the Leeds old road. It was in Cambridge that the first Meeting-room of the Methodists in Otley was situated, but I have not at present succeeded in locating the exact spot, nor the precise date when this "room" was taken. Otley first appears in the Society Book of the Keighley Circuit (then the Haworth Round) on 24 April, 1755. It is interesting to note that in June, 1758, *John Pawson* was awakened under the preaching of *James Oddie*, presumably in the room at Cambridge. This all goes to shew that Wesley was not breaking new ground when he first came to Otley in 1759. On this, as on subsequent occasions, Wesley was the guest of Dr. Ritchie, whose house stood in Kirkgate, at the Church Gates, where are now Jackson's Stores. In 1760 Otley was one of the principal places in the Haworth Round.

2. 2nd Visit: 1761, Mon., 6 July.

On this occasion Wesley "talked with many of the Society," evidently in regard to the wonderful revival of Sanctification that had broken out in 1760: an account of which is given in Wesley's *Works*, xiii, 330.

NOTE I. Tyerman's Wesley, II, 417, states that Wesley visited Otley in 1760 to investigate this revival, and quotes his remarks as to the genuineness of it. There seems to be no authority for this date. Can anyone elucidate it for me, and also give the reference in Wesley's *Works* where the quotation cited by Tyerman is to be found?

NOTE II. Laycock's *Haworth Round*, p. 203, gives 13 March as the date of the 1760 Revival; Wesley's *Works*, xiii, 330 says 13 Jan.; and in the *Journal* under date Sat., 16 Feb., 1760, Wesley quotes the same account but gives the date simply "on Friday, 13." Can anyone supply the correct date? In January, Friday would be the 18th, in February, the 15th, and in March, the 14th.

3. Wesley's 3rd Visit was made 27th June, 1764, and his 4th on 4 Aug., 1766.

1768, Wed., 29 June, seems to have been the date of his 5th visit. It is not mentioned in the *Journal*, but in a letter from Wesley to R. Costerdine, dated Kendal, 13 April (Vid. Laycock's *Haworth Round*, p. 281).

4. Wesley's 6th Visit: 1770, Tues., 26 June.

Wesley's 7th Visit: 1772, Tues., 30 June. "I preached in the new house at Otley as neat as that at Hull."

This building in Nelson Street is still standing. It seated

500, and the population of the town was then only 2,000. This chapel served the Methodists until 1825, when the second chapel with two Ministers' houses was built, and that in turn was succeeded by the present fine building in 1874. These two latter chapels are in Boroughgate. The old Nelson St. chapel subsequently became a Mechanics' Institute and is now used as a Drill Hall.

5. Wesley's 8th Visit : 1774, Mon., 2 May. "I preached at Otley".

An interesting account of Mr. W. is given in a letter written on 5th May by Mrs. Marshall, of Guiseley, with whom he frequently stayed when in this neighbourhood. It is quoted by Laycock, p. 306.

6. 9th Visit : 1776, Wed., 24 April.

1777: Three Visits, 10 May, 5 June, and 9 June, on account of the illness of Miss Ritchie. Tyerman states *re* 5 June that Wesley not only preached but made a collection for his London Chapel. (iii, 243).

1778: An unrecorded visit at the end of July is mentioned by Laycock, p. 336. There is an item in the Keighley Circuit Book, *re* Wesley's expenses, dated 2 July 1778, which probably refers to his visits of 1777.

7. 14th Visit : 1779, Mon., 19 April.

15th Visit : 1780, 19—22 April.

Wesley preached the funeral sermon of Dr. Ritchie in Otley Church.

1780 : 20 April. Wesley wrote at Otley the Preface to the 4th edition of *Primitive Physic*.

1781 : Wesley was in the West Riding 11 to 30 July (see Wesley's *Itinerary*) and would most probably visit the Ritchies at Otley. 2

8. 17th Visit : 1782, 30 April to 3 May.

In connection with the reference to the Select Society, see a letter from W. to Miss Ritchie dated 19 Jan., 1782. (*Works*, xiii, 59).

9. 18th Visit : 1784, 15 to 17 July. "I retired to Otley and rested two days."

Miss Ritchie says under date 16 July, "Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher visited Otley. I was truly blessed and edified by their society. Our house was full of company and my health very indifferent. But the Lord does all things well ; He gave me an entire resignation to His will."

Monday, 19 July, Wesley was again in Otley. He came

from Keighley via Baildon with Mr. Edmondson. Preached at 6-30, dined at Miss Ritchie's with A. Edmondson and S. Bradburn and rode with them to Leeds. (Vid. Laycock's *H.R.* p. 370).

10. 19th Visit: 1786, 20 April.

20th Visit: 1788, 6—7 May.

On 8 May Mr. W. married Thomas Gill to Elizabeth Robinson of Otley, in the Otley Church. Gill was one of W's travelling preachers, and both he and his wife belonged to the town. Mrs. Gill had lived with the Ritchie family up to the time of her marriage. The register of the marriage is signed by Wesley.

11. 21st Visit: 1789, 21—24 July. "I hid myself at Otley, and prepared myself for the Conference."

He would stay as usual at the house of the Ritchies.

Last Visit: 1790. Wesley planned to visit Otley on 29 April and seems to have done so. There is no mention of it in the printed Journals¹.

B. A. HURD BARLEY.

TWO EARLY MANX METHODISTS.

In the church-yard of Onchan, near Douglas, Isle of Man, there are two inscriptions sufficiently interesting to be inserted in the *Proceedings*. They are epitaphs of two worthy Methodists, contemporaries of Wesley, who himself visited the Island, 30 May—2 June, 1777, when the attitude of the Bishop and of some of the clergy was unfriendly to Methodism; and again, 1—8 June, 1781, when he writes: "We have now rather too little, than too much reproach: the scandal of the cross having for the present ceased." At the latter date there were twenty-two Local Preachers in the Isle of Man, "men of faith and love, knit together in one mind and one judgment. They speak either Manks or English,

1. Reference to Wesley's *Itinerary* W.H.S., vi, shows that Wesley visited Otley 28-29 April, the authority being his last Pocket Diary, preserved at Headingley College.

For other references to Otley Methodism see W.H.S., iii, 107, v. 189.—J.C.N.

and follow a regular plan, which the Assistant gives them monthly." The Circuit was formed in 1778 from the Whitehaven Circuit, which had its origin from the Haworth Round in 1769. It had from 2100 to 2200 members at the time of Wesley's second visit to the Island. Of the Manx people and Circuit Wesley entertained the highest opinion : " Having now visited the Island round, East, South, North, and West, I was thoroughly convinced, that we have no such Circuit as this, either in *England, Scotland, or Ireland.*" That the two early Methodist worthies, whose epitaphs we reproduce, have not lacked successors is attested by the existence of an excellent Wesleyan Church in Onchan, served for the most part by local preachers, and by the fact that the preachers to-day receive no less honour and hospitality than they did a century or more ago.

In Memory of
JOHN COWLE
of Douglas,
who departed this life
the 19th day of November 1848
aged 80 years.
He was fifty-six years
a Local Preacher in the
Wesleyan Methodist Connexion,
more than forty of which he filled
the office of Clerk in St. George's Church,
being through a long and laborious life
a most consistent, useful and
exemplary character.
" He rests from his labours and
his works do follow him."

Sacred
to the Memory of
ALICE CAIN,
alias Christian, wife of
William Cain, of Ballig,
and Anamona, of this
Parish, who departed
this life, 22 Dec^{br} 1807,
Aged 71 years.
Also of the above-named
WILLIAM CAIN,

PROCEEDINGS.

who departed this life,
23rd Nov. 1812, aged 79 years.
The above William Cain, was
one of the first Individuals
that entertained the
Wesleyan Methodist Preachers
on their first visit to this
Parish, about the year 1781.

JAMES REDFEARN, F.R.M.S.

For previous notices of Wesley and the Isle of Man Methodism see *W.H.S. Proc.*, v, 80—4, 255—6.

On "The Progress of the Methodists in the Isle of Man," see *Feltham's Tour*, fully quoted in *Evangelical Mag.*, Nov., 1798.—T.E.B.

WAS WESLEY A FREEMASON?

Paragraphs have appeared in the Masonic Press, both of Ireland and of the United States, asserting, with some circumstantiality of detail, that the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., was a member of the Craft, and that he had been initiated in an Irish Lodge, at Downpatrick. The evidence on which this claim rests is in the records of the old Lodge, No. 367, at Downpatrick, 1788, corroborated by the corresponding entry in the Register of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and is as follows:

" 115			
John Wesley			
Entrd. & Pas'd this 3 Day		Rec ^d .	
of October	£0 5 5	same time	£0 5 5
October 13. Jno. Wesley Rc'v'd	2 8½	Rec ^d .	2 8½
	8 1½		8 1½
Rec ^d . Certificate."			

The entry in Register of Grand Lodge gives the name as Jno. Westley and appears to have been registered with a score of others on 17 November, 1788, and the Grand Lodge certificates appear to have been issued on the following day.

These entries prove conclusively that a certain John Wesley was regularly made a Mason in October, 1788, by the Lodge at Downpatrick. It might even be surmised that he was a bird of passage, because the chief value of the certificate issued to him was to identify a Brother on his travels, and because no trace has been discovered of any resident of the name in the town. It is known, too, that Rev. J. Wesley visited Downpatrick several times between 1778 and 1789. Thus there appear to be some grounds for the assumption that he was a Freemason ; the more so, as it appears that his nephew, Samuel Wesley, was admitted into the Craft, a few weeks later in the same year.

On the other hand, the reference to Freemasonry made by Wesley in his *Journal*, 18 June, 1773, both in its tone and its statements, shows plainly that at that time he was neither identified with the Craft, nor in sympathy with it. Moreover Wesley did not visit Ireland in 1788, the year in which it is stated he was initiated, while as a matter of fact he was at Norwich on 3rd October, and at Wallingford on the 13th, the two dates mentioned. However the case is settled by the fact that the signature, a photograph of which lies before me, is unquestionably not that of the venerated Founder of Methodism.

CHARLES H. CROOKSHANK.

A RECENT FRENCH TREATISE ON WESLEY.

L'Angleterre Religieuse et les origines du Méthodisme au XVIII^e siècle. LA JEUNESSE DE WESLEY, par Augustin Leger, Docteur ès-lettres. Paris. Hatchette, 1910.¹

It has not been our custom to make reference in the *Proceedings* to newly published works on Wesley subjects, but

1. Copies may be obtained from the Methodist Publishing House, City Road, E.C., and from Hatchette and Co., 18, King William St., Charing Cross.—6/.

one has been recently issued of such special interest to the members of our Society that we venture to make an exception in regard to it.

M. Leger was formerly Professor of Philosophy in Montreal University, and is now "Professeur Agrégé d'Anglais à l'École Navale, Brest." The above was one of two *theses* prepared for his Doctorate in Paris University, and is the result of original investigation in which he has been assisted by the Rev. Thos. E. Brigden and the publications of our Society, frequently quoted in his notes. This assistance receives graceful recognition in the Dedication, which is as follows: "Au Reverend Thomas Edwin Brigden (de Londres et Barrow-in-Furness) en reconnaissant souvenir de mainte amicale Causerie, et a ses Confrères de la Société d'Histoire Wesleyenne, en communauté d'effort scientifique." In the Preface Mr. Brigden is described as "à l'heure actuelle l'un des hommes les mieux informés de tout ce qui touche aux origines Wesleyennes du Méthodisme." Mr. Curnock is thanked for permission to use the new edition of the *Journal*, and Dr. Workman for his counsel. The volume contains valuable notes, an accurate Bibliography, and copies of "confirmative documents" from the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. Dr. Leger's smaller study, in English, on "*Wesley's Last Love*" has been recently noticed in the *W. M. Mag.* The French thesis will no doubt win a permanent place in the critical literature of the Methodist Revival. We understand that it is Dr. Leger's purpose to follow up his present work by other studies of the period.

J. CONDER NATTRASS.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

446. CONFERENCE AT EDINBURGH, MAY, 1790.—John Townsend's name appears amongst those of preachers "now admitted", in the Bristol *Minutes* of 27 July, 1790. But I have the copy of the Large Minutes given to him, with the still used formula of reception, signed by Wesley himself; underneath which he has written, "The above was written when I was received into full Connexion at the Edinburgh Conference. May 15th, 1790. John Townsend."

A loose paper has been preserved with the book, endorsed by Townsend, "Letter of Ordination from the Conference, Leeds, 1797." It runs as follows :

"LEEDS,

These are to certify to all whom they may concern that Mr. Jn^o Townsend is authorised by the Conference to administer the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Given under our hands the 15th day of August, in the year 1797.

Signed { Thomas Coke, President.
In behalf of the Conference { Samuel Bradburn, Secretary."

A long *hiatus* occurs between Sat. 10 April and Mon. 24 May in the printed *Journal* for 1790, which the last pocket Diary of Wesley, preserved at Headingley College, enables us to fill up perfectly. This has already been done so far as the places he visited are concerned, in the *Itinerary* printed in vol. VI of our *Proceedings*.

The Diary tells us that from Belford, where he had slept, he reached the home of "C. Affleck," which, as we know, was at Dunbar, on the forenoon of 12 May. There he spent the day, writing in preparation for the Conference, and preaching at night. He set out at 10 a.m. on the 13th, reaching Tranent about midday, and Edinburgh at 2 p.m. He preached at 6-o p.m., and at 8 o'clock arrived at Coates, the town house of Lady Maxwell (See *Journal*, 27 May, 1786, and W. H. S. *Proc.*, VII, p. 46.) He was her guest throughout the "little Conference," but dining on 15th with Mr. Caithness, about whom I should be glad to know more. Conference opened at 9 a.m. on the 14th: two sessions on that and the following day sufficed. He spent most of the 16th in preparing material for the *Magazine*, and was at Queen's Ferry by 6 o'clock on the morning of the 17th, on his way northward.

The well-known engraving of Wesley walking in the High Street of Edinburgh, supported by Dr. Hamilton and Rev. Joseph Cole, belongs to this visit. The two daughters of John Townsend married the brothers Peter and John McOwan. From the last survivor of John McOwan's family, Miss McOwan, of Bowdon, I have received the little volume. —[The late] *H. J. Foster*.

The volume is now in the possession of Rev. Dr. Simon, the President of the W.H.S.

447. WESLEY AS A PARTY POLITICIAN. [*Journal*, 23 April, 1780 ;

"I preached in Bingley Church." In the *York Courant*, for 6 June, 1780, (the late) Dr. Lyth found the following report: "The famous preacher Wesley may now be ranked among the pensioned hirelings of the Court, and has been busily employed in some parts of Yorkshire very lately, putting forth his pious political tenets. The Established Churches in many places have been laid open to him, particularly in Halifax and Bingley, where in his sermons he has repeatedly exhorted his disciples to purchase a fourpenny book, which he calls a true statement or account of the war in America,—an extract from the pamphlet or evidence of Mr. Galloway, than which nothing can be more fraught with misrepresentation and falsehood." [For Mr. Galloway, see *Journal*, 13 Nov. 1779, *W.H.S. Proc.*, vol. iv, pp. 114, 216]. Is the pamphlet Wesley was recommending the Rev. R. Green's No. 340? The date seems to exclude his No. 352 or 353, which were based on Galloway's representation of the facts, and belong to 1781.—*Mr. John Taylor*.

448. WESLEY FASTING IN LENT. In the long memorial notice of Wesley in *The British Chronicle or Pugh's Hereford Journal*, 16th March, 1791, the editor says: "The blamelessness of Mr. Wesley's life is among his chief recommendations. His charity was unbounded; in fact the Trustees were obliged to be guarded in what money they gave him, as it generally went among the first poor objects he met with. During the Lent season, he practised fasting in almost the strictest sense, and we are credibly informed, that from Ash Wednesday to Easter Monday his only food was bread and water. Whitefield, though in principles more strict and confined than Wesley, was less so in diet,—he loved a good dinner, and during the Lent season *fasted* upon *Turbot* with much enthusiasm." [Obviously not too accurate a paragraph, but is there any modicum of fact as to Wesley's Lenten habits?]—*Mr. William Parlbby*.

See Wesley on Fasting, *Sermons* xxvii (1768), and cxvi at Plymouth Dock (1789): also his letter to James MacDonald (1790), Tyerman, iii, 631.—T.E.B.

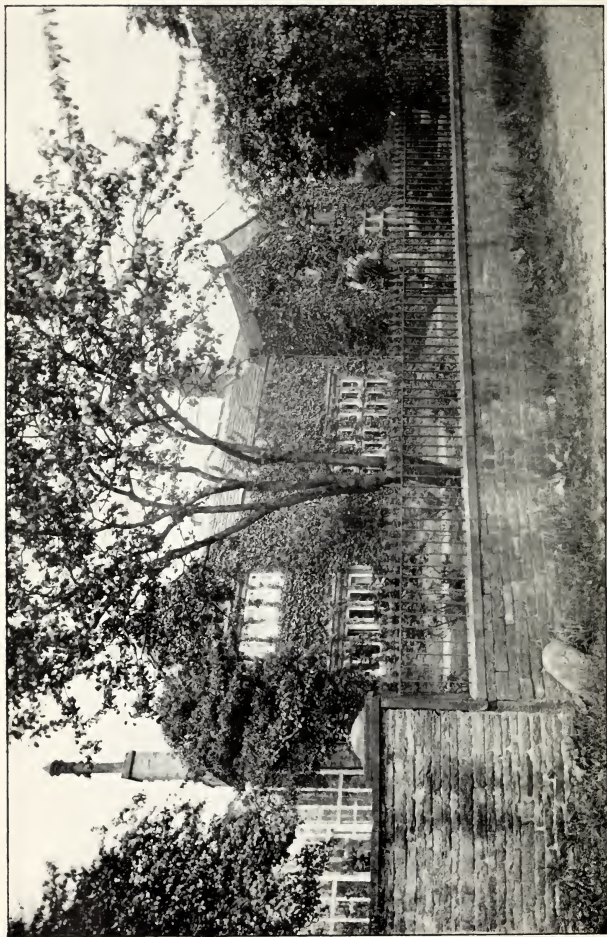
449. THE BRISTOL "ROOM" LENT BY WESLEY TO THE PRESBYTERIANS (*Journal*, 25 Sep., 1790). The Lewinsmead congregation were replacing an older chapel by the fine [Unitarian] chapel which stands to-day. Their minister, Mr. Hey, asked Wesley for the use of the Old Room, when the Methodists were not themselves using it. "To this,"

says Wesley, "I willingly consented, and he preached an excellent sermon there the next day at two." This courtesy to the "Presbyterians" was at that time being extended to them by other Nonconformist bodies also. Murch (*History of Presbyterianism in the West of England*, p. 116) says: "While the work [of rebuilding] was going on, the congregation assembled on one part of the Sunday in the Independent Chapel in Bridge Street, it being then customary for the Dissenters of Bristol, though differing widely on points of doctrine, to accommodate each other in the spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind." The Headingley Pocket-Diary shows that Wesley himself read prayers and preached at 10 a.m. in the Room: he was a hearer at 2-0 p.m. The 5 o'clock sermon was preached in the evening of the same day, not the "morning" as the printed *Journal* by some slip reports. [It may be Wesley's own slip. In the printed *Journal* he is said to have seen the "monster,"—the sloth bear,—on the 16th, whereas the Diary is perfectly clear that he saw it on the 9th, and *not* on the 16th. His own slip again, perhaps, in writing a MS. "Copy" from his daily notes].—[The late] *Henry J. Foster*.

450. PETER WHITFIELD, OF LIVERPOOL, AND DAVID JEFFERIES.—In the last issue of the *Proceedings* there are interesting letters on the above. I have just noted that P. Whitfield's *Dissertation on the Hebrew Vowel Points*, Liverpool, 4to., 1748, is catalogued at 10s. by a Bradford bookseller. As David Jefferies, who attacked Whitfield's treatise, was "a teacher of French," it appears probable that he was the writer also of the tract: *A letter from a late Roman Catholic*, 1748, described in my article on *David Jeffries* of Wesley's *Journal* (*Proceedings*, Vol. V, p. 193).—*Rev. Thos. E. Brigden*.

ERRATA, in "*Proceedings*," Vol. vii, Part 6.—*Corrections in Article "Langham Row," pp. 130—132.* (1) p. 130.—Remove the first bracket from its place before the words *the home of*, and insert it before the words *for many years*, in the following line. (2) p. 130.—Between the names *Hogsthorpe* and *Anderby*, insert *Huttoft*. (3) p. 130.—For *Stoothby* read *Sloothby*. (4) p. 132.—For *Mr. Bryant*, read *Mr. Bryan*.—*Rev. Marmaduke Riggall*.





SMITH HOUSE, LIGHTCLIFFE.

Photograph by Rev. Nehemiah Curnock.

SMITH HOUSE. LIGHTCLIFFE.

FIRST HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE MORAVIANS
IN YORKSHIRE,
AND HOME OF MRS. ELIZABETH HOLMES
OF WESLEY'S JOURNAL.

A paper, prepared by Mr. J. Horsfall Turner, for the Halifax Antiquarian Society in 1908, gives useful notes on the history of this old mansion, associated with the history of Moravianism and of Methodism in Yorkshire. It still stands in the ancient township of Hipperholme-cum-Brighouse, three miles from Halifax. Mr. Turner writes :—"Smith House, though now a somewhat secluded dwelling, is situated on a road formerly much frequented in the days of packhorses, as an old highway from Huddersfield, via Rastrick and Brighouse, and from Elland, via Lane Head, passing this way to Bradford. The present mansion bears over the front door the date 1672. Smith House has given its name to several houses near, one of which is worthy of inspection, namely Upper Smith House, formerly called Hirst's Farm, and since then Lower Crow Nest. A smaller farm is known as Little Smith House, whilst close to the historic house is a large building erected to accommodate the Moravian community in 1742. Near Upper Smith House, at the junction of the road with Lightcliffe and Bailiffe Bridge-road, was formerly a toll-bar cottage where human remains have been found. A large hoard of Roman coins was discovered at Lower Lightcliffe, a few yards further west.

"The Smyths were resident here before 1379, when John Smyth paid a groat as a poll tax, and Thomas and his wife another groat. John, as well as Thomas's wife, had been fined for brewing in 1370. For more than 200 years we come on the names of the Smyths. In 1692 Henry Gill was assessed for the major part of the estate and Mrs. Brooke for the remainder. Some time before 1742 Smith House was the property of John

Holmes, after whose death in that year, Elizabeth, his wife, became a Methodist, and thus gave the house a double religious interest."

The Rev. Benjamin Ingham, "The Yorkshire Evangelist," of Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists* (pp. 57-154) assisted by W. Delamotte (*Proc.*, III, p. 133), had founded his fifty "societies" in Yorkshire. Two or three of them were in Halifax parish, Lightcliffe being one. At his invitation on 26 May, 1742, twenty-six Moravians, Brethren and Sisters, set out from London to help him in Yorkshire. Mr. J. E. Hutton, M.A. (*S. Hist. Mor. Ch.*, p. 193) says they came "in detachments, and as soon as they arrived mapped out the district like a field of battle. At Smith House, near Wyke, they made their head-quarters; at Mirfield was Ockerhausen; at Pudsey, Gussenbauer; at Great Horton, Toeltschig and Piech; at Holbeck, the Browns; while Spangenberg, at Smith House, took the general command of the whole." (On Spangenberg, see *W.H.S. Proc.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-146, and *New Hist. Meth.*, Vol. I, with portrait, pp. 190, 191: see also Dr. Wauer's *Moravians in England*, p. 87).

To continue Mr. Turner's notes: "Amongst Mr. Ingham's well-to-do supporters were Mr. and Mrs. Holmes, of Smith House, who agreed to his proposal to hand over the management of the Yorkshire Societies to the Moravians, and as this required, according to the Moravian economy, a central place for the Brethren, where the missionaries might establish departments for married members, single brethren, single sisters, day schools, &c., besides a home for the local ministers and those travelling to and from Labrador and foreign places, the Holmes' decided to build suitable accommodation, and a tall building was therefore erected on the east side of Smith House. Mr. Holmes died just about the time when this band of famous Moravians reached Yorkshire—the talk of the whole country. The new edifice was filled to overflowing, and some had to be accommodated at New House, not the one now called the Grange, but, on the authority of a contemporary sketch map, at German House, half a mile away.

"Besides the famous learned preachers, Toeltschig, Ockerhausen, Spangenberg, Böhler, Nyberg (whose daughter became the wife of Jeremiah Carter, of Giles House family), La Trobe, and many others, Smith House entertained Count Zinzendorf, Baron Watteville, and other eminent men. About the same time Mr. Wesley split away from Moravian influence, and his ardent followers did the same. Mr. Ingham, who had married Lady Hastings, sister of the Countess of Huntingdon, having transferred

his societies to the Brethren, also left them, and followed his own course, which does not seem to have been as beneficial to the public or as happy to himself as his earlier labours in the cause of Moravianism and Methodism, and to which justice has never been done. Mr. Grimshaw, of Haworth, Mr. Venn, of Huddersfield, Mr. Romaine, Mr. John Wesley, visited Mrs. Holmes, at Smith House, and the Moravians (except for the School a few years longer) migrated to Lower Wyke, and the central establishment was founded at Fulneck, near Pudsey."

Spangenberg tells in his *Life of Zinzendorf* that the Count visited Smith House on 25 Feb., 1743, with his daughter, Anna Nitschman, and James Hutton. He conversed with Spangenberg on the affairs of the church, and was "extremely pleased" with the worthy people, addressing them with much unction and effect, and finding time to see and converse with them singly (p. 318).

Toeltschig (more correctly Töltschig) finds a place in Wesley's *Georgia Journal*, 26 May, 1738, and there is a good note on him in the new edition, p. 478. John Nelson, in his *Journal*, sorrowfully refers to the doctrinal difference between them. (*E.M.P.*, I, 48).

The old Moravian Chapel at Wyke is still standing, and Mr. Harlow gave a photograph of it in the *M.R.* for 1899, No. 2196.

At Fulneck was built a chapel, 1746; a minister's house, 1748; Brethren and Sisters' Houses, 1752; the Widows' House, 1763; a shop and inn, 1771, and lastly, a Boys' Boarding School. Thus Fulneck became the second Yorkshire Moravian headquarters. (Hutton, p. 197).

On 2 June, 1742, John Wesley rode over to Smith House from Birstal, six miles away, whither he had gone at John Nelson's invitation. His *Journal* notes: "I was invited to Mrs. Holmes' near Halifax, where I preached at noon on 'Ask and ye shall receive.' Thence rode to Dr. L's (Legh) the Vicar of Halifax, a candid enquirer after truth. I called upon Mrs. Holmes on my return, when her sister a little surprised me by asking—'Ought not a Minister of Christ to do three things: First, To preach His Law, in order to convince of sin; then, To offer free pardon, through faith in His blood, to all convinced sinners; and, in the third place, To preach His law again, as a rule for those that believe?' I think, if anyone does otherwise, he is no true Minister of Christ. He divides what God has joined, and cannot be said to preach the whole Gospel."

The Rev. J. E. Harlow writes in *M.R.*: "At about this time

Mr. Holmes died ; possibly before Mr. Wesley's visit, or it may have been a year later. Mrs. Holmes was not so strongly with the Moravians as her husband had been, and the Brethren, anxious to avoid even the appearance of wishing to influence the widow in their favour, withdrew from Smith House, and made themselves a home in another part of Lightcliffe. Mrs. Holmes not only invited John Wesley to her house, but seems to have thrown it open for periodical Methodist services."

The *Journal*, Tuesday, 19 April, 1774, records : "Mrs. Holmes, who has been for some years confined to her bed, sent and desired I would preach at her house. As I stood in the passage, both she could hear, and all that stood in the adjoining rooms. I preached on Revelation xiv. 1-5. It was a refreshing season to her and to many."

Five years before her death, which took place in 1781, Wesley says :—

"Friday, 19 April, 1776—I preached at Smith House, for the sake of that lovely woman, Mrs. Holmes. It does me good to see her ; such is her patience, or, rather, thankfulness, under almost continual pain."

There is a letter by Wesley's helper, John Bennet, in the Colman collection (printed in *M.R.* for 1902, No. 2353), dated Chinley, 22 Oct., 1748, in which there is a reference to this good woman. After describing a riot at Rough Lee, Lancashire, he tells of a visit to Yorkshire, and says, "I was with Mrs. Holmes, she seems openhearted towards us, and yet I really think she has drunk deep into the German spirit. She intends to invite Mr. Whitefield to call and preach at her house, though she supposes it will not please the brethren at all." Mrs. Holmes appears to have been a generous woman, with a will of her own. Whether she succeeded in securing a visit from Whitefield, Tyerman does not tell us. There is a letter in the *Life of Berridge* (p. 408), which may have been written to her by the good vicar of Everton a year before her death, in which there is reference to the depressing sufferings of her later years. "Afflictions have been to me some of my greatest mercies," writes Berridge, "You have need, and are required to rejoice in the Lord evermore. Rejoice in Jesus that He hath quickened you. Rejoice that you are drawn to seek His face. Rejoice for the glimpses of His countenance, and the frequent refreshings of His word. These are tokens of love."

Mr. Turner tells us that "John Holmes was the son of Joshua Holmes, of Smith House, and on the death of his widow, eulogised by Wesley, the property went to Elizabeth, daughter of

Joshua, who married Abraham Radcliffe, of Brighthouse, who was born at Meltham in 1696. He and his wife were buried at Lightcliffe. Their oldest son, William, a merchant, born 1733, and an influential man at Brighthouse, was also buried at Lightcliffe, in 1778. Charles, the fifth son, was born at Brighthouse and baptised at Rastrick 1739, died at Smith House 1817, and was buried at Lightcliffe. He married Charlotte, daughter of Charles Radcliffe, of York, who was cousin of Abraham Radcliffe, of Brighthouse, and she was therefore cousin of Sir Joseph Pickford Radcliffe, the Anti-Luddite. She was buried at Lightcliffe twenty years before her husband (1797). William Towne Radcliffe, their son born 1789, died in 1862, and the only other child, Charlotte Lucretia Francina, born at Smith House, 1794, was buried at Coney Street, York, where she was at school and was burnt to death."

It is pleasant to record that a Moravian pastor still has charge of the old chapel at Wyke, and that Smith House, so rich in Moravian and Methodist associations, is in the hands of careful occupants. The ancient staircase by which Wesley ascended to rest is well preserved.

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

LETTER FROM JOHN GOODWIN TO—

Bristol,

Feb^y. 26, 78.

My Dear Bro^r.

Your petition came at an unfavourable time, just after we had collected all we cou'd for Bath Chappel, which I suppose will be y^e second in y^e Kingdom. However I have done a little for you, collected Ten pounds, which you may draw upon Bro^r Atley for when you please. 'The People murmur'd a little for your not (apportioning?) y^e Sum, supposing you intend a little for y^e House as well as for y^e poor people.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Mr. Hilton ¹ speaks y^e plain language, ² but is as a dead man out of mind with us ; I believe not one will follow him in Bristol. We have an happy union among our selves, I do not know that there is a jarring string amongst us Preachers and People. The work prospers much better in Bristol & Bath than in y^e country part of our Circuit ; Kingswood is upon y^e decline. We apprehend a division will soon take place there ; Proctor has left the Society, has got a party into his sentiment of no Sin in a believer, who very rarely come to hear us, and meet by themselves when we meet y^e Society. We have had no disturbance with them yet, but hope some thing will be done when Mr. Wesley comes.

Yours most affect^{ly},

J. GOODWIN.

Believing in the great value of old letters, I venture to transcribe the foregoing one.

The readers of this journal will not need to be informed that John Hilton, after he had been an itinerant preacher for thirteen years, withdrew from the Methodists, whom he regarded as a fallen people, and became a Quaker. Among his writings was one issued in 1778, the year of the above letter, and entitled *Reasons for Quitting the Methodist Society ; being a Defence of Barclay's Apology* : 8 vo., pp. 66. For other particulars relating to this good and gifted mystic, see Tyerman, iii, 245—6, with footnote from Moore, ii, 273—4. The report that Methodism was a decaying power led to an anxious conversation in the Conference at Bristol in August, 1777, every assistant being particularly asked by Wesley, "Have you reason to believe, from your own observation, that the Methodists are a fallen people? Is there a decay or an increase in the work of God where you have been?" Hilton's case is mentioned by Wesley in the *Journal*, 5 August, 1777, and also at length in a letter inserted in the *Methodist Magazine*, 1807.

Of Proctor I find no mention by Wesley ; but Kingswood was unfortunate in the number of its troublers.

R. BUTTERWORTH.

1. Myles' *Chronological History* gives his name as Helton. Wesley spells the name in the same way, *Journal*, 29 April, 1770, but Hilton, 5 Aug., 1777.

2. The language of "thee" and "thou."

SIDELIGHTS ON JOHN WESLEY'S JOURNAL.

The following extracts are from a very rare and curious volume entitled :—

"The Date Book for Lincoln and neighbourhood, from the earliest time to the present. Collected with care, and from the most authentic sources."

"The old man rejoices to recall the memory of past events, and to narrate them to others."—*Aristotle*.

"Entered at Stationers' Hall. Lincoln :—Printed and pub^d. by R. E. Leary, sen., 19, Strait. Postage free 30 stamps.

EXTRACT I.

"1744. Jan. 24. Mr. Wesley beginning to preach to a very numerous auditory in the Court of the Three Cups Inn, at Taunton, had scarce named his text when the Mayor came in formality and ordered the Proclamation to be read, which immediately silenced the Preacher."

N.B. No entry in Wesley's *Journal* between 11 Jan. and 25 Jan. On 25 Jan. he preached at Bath. But cf. *Wes. Journal* under Friday, 23 Sept., 1743, for a similar occurrence "in the yard of our inn", with interruption by the *Mayor elect*. Query: Who was the Mayor of Taunton in Jan^y. 1744?

EXTRACT II.

"1786. May 10. The Rev. John Wesley, who arrived a few days ago in Dublin, visited most of the principal towns in Ireland, with his usual celerity, though in the 84th year of his age. He may be truly considered as a prodigy of the present century, who at this advanced age rises every morning at four o'clock, preaches twice, frequently three times, and travels 40 or 50 miles a day; and, what is more extraordinary, remains a stranger to weariness."

N.B. The date 1786 must be a mistake. Wesley was not in Ireland then. It should probably be 1787, when J. W. was "in the 84th year of his age."

EXTRACT III.

"1791. The remains of Mr. Wesley, after lying in his Tabernacle [sic] in state, dressed in the gown, cassock, and band which he usually wore, and on his head the old clerical cap, the Bible in one hand and a white handkerchief in the other, were,

agreeably to his own directions, in the manner of the interment of the late Mr. Whitefield, deposited near his chapel at the Foundry, Moorfields, London."

MARMADUKE RIGGALL.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

451. "PLOUGHING THE SANDS."—Has any member drawn attention to the fact that this phrase, which has played a prominent part in the political controversies of recent years, is John Wesley's? In the *Journal*, Tuesday, 3 December, 1765, he writes, "I rode to Dover, and found a little company more united together than they have been for many years. Whilst several of them continued to rob the King, we seemed to be ploughing upon the sand: but since they have cut off the right hand, the word of God sinks deep into their hearts."
—*Mr. Robert Morgan.*

In a letter from Wesley to Rev. Walter Sellon, dated London, 30 December, 1766, the same phrase is used: "Are you tired with ploughing on the sand?"—*J.C.N.*

In response to the suggestion of Rev. R. Butterworth (*Proc.* vii., p. 137) a number of names of "Existing Methodist chapels built previously to 1791" have been noted in the MSS. *Journals* of the W.H.S. The Editors will be glad to receive particulars of other such buildings, with photographs of any that are of special interest.

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